Part I. (Vol. XXVI.) January 1941.
PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXVI.

No. 1.—INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By Dr. H. N. Randle, London.

This is the plate to which Nalini Kanta Bhattasali drew attention in 1927 under the title "The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal,"[1] and its reappearance fully confirms the conclusions reached by Bhattasali on the evidence of a report (fortunately printed in the *Calcutta Gazette*, May 14, 1829) of a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on May 6, 1829.[2] From this it appears that Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, had obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, zamindar of Bhāōyāl and presented it to the Society. Although the 'translation' furnished by the Pandit of the Dacca City Court was, as H. H. Wilson, the Society's Secretary, pointed out, almost entirely a product of his own invention, it included a few proper names which are to be found in the present plate, Jye Seen (Vijayasēna), Goree Peresh (*Gaurī prīyā*, line 1), Mulla Seen (Vallālasēna ?), the Sybolence river (Śaivalinī, line 23) and Beer Seen (Vīrasēna, line 6). And the Pandit rightly said that the inscription commences with an "invocation of Narayunu." Wilson recognised it as an ordinary land-grant of a Sēna king, reading the date (really 27, as Bhattasali conjectured) as 37, and remarking that the imperfect condition of the plate rendered it very problematical whether it would hereafter be more satisfactorily deciphered.[3] The plate was forgotten for half a century, until Navīnachandra Bhadra in his *Bhāōyālēr itihāsa* (1875) gave a brief account of the finding of it;[4] and then again forgotten for another half century, until Bhattasali's article appeared in 1927. In 1930 I turned out from a safe in the India Office Library a number of copper-plates, and ascertained that, with three or four possible exceptions, all had been published. The present plate was one of these exceptions. Subsequent

[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III (1927), pp. 89-96. I published a preliminary notice of the reappearance of the plate in the same journal, Vol. XV (1939), pp. 300-302, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal then claimed it. It has now been restored to the possession of the Society.

[2] Bhattasali points out that the Asiatic Society's proceedings were not printed before 1821, and again not between 1827 and 1829. In 1829 they were printed in the monthly "*Gleanings of Science*", which, however, may not have included the May proceedings.

[3] Wilson did not allow for the subsequent discovery of other similar plates which supplement the imperfections of this one.

[4] The relevant passage is at p. 26. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. R. H. Williams, Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library, for the following translation. "At Bhāōyāl, amongst the Chaṇḍāls was a certain Chāshā Nāgarī who was accustomed to do accounts and had even procured some books. Some time previously he had found a copper-plate with some characters on it, opposite the afore-mentioned hermitage of Maghī. At the instance of a zamindār who formerly lived in the place, the late Mahātmā Golāk Nārāyaṇa Rāya Chaudhurī, many attempts were made to read this inscription, but no one was able to identify it. It was sent to a certain learned Englishman of Dacca; but there too no one was able to decipher it, so it was forwarded to Calcutta. Again in that city no one could read it, so at last it has been sent to England".

examination, in the light of Bhattasali's article, has convinced me that it is the **Bhowal** (Bhāōyāl) **copper-plate.** In view of the fact that H. H. Wilson was afterwards Librarian to the East India Company, it is not difficult to suppose that it came to the East India House with him.

Walters' account of the find-spot of the plate is as follows :—" About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala, and a short distance from the banks of the river Luck'iah, is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to pergunnah Bhowal, and included in the modern division of thannah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill, stands an ancient building called by the natives Mogee's Mut (*Mughīr maṭha*). It is built in the usual pyramidal form of Hindoo *muts*, but of considerable solidity, and contains a small vaulted apartment . . . Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude . . . At a distance of about two miles to the north-west of the **mut** stood the palace of Raja Chandal . . . A large tank called Dunwa Dīgee, and the scattered remains of old brick buildings, evince that the spot was once the habitation of man . . About forty years ago the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch ryot, at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal zemindar, Luckhenarain Rae, from whose son, Golucknarain Rae it has now been obtained ". These topographical clues should be sufficient, but they are not in fact easily intelligible to a person using modern maps and gazetteers, since Bhowal and "Mowza Rajabary" are unknown to the Gazetteers and are not to be found on modern maps, while the Jamalpur of modern maps is not 30 miles but 90 miles to the north-west (not north) of Dacca. The distance from Dacca, and proximity to the river Lakhya or Lakshya remain the only useful pointers to modern maps. The Lakhya figures on the maps[1] as the name of that stretch of river which runs roughly north and south through the Kāligaṇj and Rūpgaṇj sections of the Dacca District. Older maps are helpful, and the map of the western districts of the Dacca Division contained in Volume V of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1875) marks in the Dacca district of the division, " Jaidebpur or Bhowal ", and " Bhowal or Nagari ". There is no doubt that the former locality is the relevant one as the names of zamindars mentioned in Mr. Walters' account show.[2] The plate must have been found in the extreme north of the Dacca District—since Walters located Mowza Rajabary 30 miles north of Dacca[3]—and must then have been brought to Jaydebpur (otherwise called Bhowal). The *thāna* Kapasia appears to be indicated as the locality of the find. An account of Bhowal and " Capassia " will be found in James Taylor's *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840, pp. 110-118).

The India Office plate is a **single plate** measuring 13¾ × 12 inches, weighing 7 lbs., and having 59 lines incised upon it, 30 on the obverse and 29 on the reverse. The **seal**, projected from the top edge in the shape of an inverted shield or heart, carries the usual Sēna device, the image of Sadāśiva, 3 inches in diameter, fixed by a stout central bolt almost ½ inch in diameter which projects about ½ inch on the reverse. There is a certain amount of corrosion, which affects especially the proper right side of the reverse, so that the first ten or twelve *akshara*s of many lines in the latter half of the inscription are more or less illegible. But (as Bhattasali had rightly conjectured)

[1] See Survey map-sheets of Bengal (1 mile to the inch—1919), 78. L. 12 and 79. I. 9.

[2] See *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, Dacca (1912), pp. 183 f., under Jaydebpur.

[3] As to Walters' " thannah Jamalpore ", which included the " pergunnah Bhowal ", Bengal map-sheet 79. I. 9 shows a Jamalpur and a Jamalpur Chak near and on the Lakhya river in the Kāligaṇj part of Dacca District. Neither appears on Hunter's map ; but Jumalpoor is marked as the headquarters of a *thana* on the map in *Principal heads of the history and statistics of the Dacca Division* (Calcutta, 1868). The same map shows " Joydebpoor or Bhowal " some 12 miles west of Jumalpoor, and Kapasia some 30 miles north of Dacca. Ekdalla is marked about 5 miles north-east of Jumalpoor.

this plate so closely resembles the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakshmaṇasēna[1] that the *lacunæ* over a large part of it can be supplied from the Mādhāinagar plate. In fact Banerjī's and Majumdar's reading and translation of that part of the Mādhāinagar plate which is identical with lines 1-24, 27-34, 43-45 and 49-57 of the present plate render a fresh reading and translation of these passages superfluous, except in so far as the India Office plate happens to supply *lacunæ* in the Mādhāinagar plate. But it seemed more convenient to transcribe and translate the whole. The engraver seems to have made no mistakes in reproducing his copy, although he was not always careful in forming his characters. The usual ambiguities (*r*, *v*, *ch* ; *t*, *y*, *g* ; *h*, *ṅg* ; *dh*, *p*, *y* ; some conjuncts ; and vowel marks) therefore present occasional difficulty, and (in combination with the effects of corrosion) make the reading of some characters, especially in unfamiliar place-names, open to doubt.

The deed was issued by the *Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara* **Lakshmaṇasēna-dēva** (lines 28 and 57-8). The name of the place of issue has been doubtfully read in the Mādhāinagar grant as **Dhāryyagrāma**. In the present plate it is again doubtful (line 24). The grant is **dated** on the 6th day of the month Kārttika in the **year 27**, and was executed by **Śaṅkaradhara**, the *Gauḍa-Mahāsāndhivigrahika* as *dūta* (lines 57-59). It is a conveyance of land to *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhadēva-śarman**, son of Mahādēva[dēva]-śarman, grandson of Jayadēva-śarman and great-grandson of Buddhadēva[?]-śarman, of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna *pravaras*, a follower of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāma-vēda (lines 45-7). The motive of the gift is to win merit for the *Mahādēvī* ..**pādēvī** and the *Mahādēvī* **Kalyāṇadēvī** (line 48)[2]. The land conveyed consists of two adjacent estates, of the annual value of 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the **Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti**, one at least (possibly both) being in the **Vaṭumbi** *chaturaka* of the **Vāśchaśa** (?) *āvṛitti* of that *bhukti*. Both portions of land have as their southern boundary Jaladāṇḍi, while the village Khāvōlāpāṇḍī forms the eastern boundary of one and the western boundary of the other. That on the west is bounded on the north and west by the Suja-nadī(?). That on the east (which perhaps fell in a different *chaturaka*) is bounded on the north by Valēṅgavēnada[3] (?), and on the east by Siṁhaḍāvillī (?), by the southern part of Kaimajagrāvāḍī (?) and apparently by a water-exit. The lands conveyed comprised four part-estates (*khaṇḍa-kshētra*) named **Kavillī, Chuñchalī, Gāṇḍōlī** and **Dēhipā**. Measurements are given, but they are not intelligible. There is possibly a reference to a 22-*hasta* unit of measurement. I cannot identify on the maps any of the places named ; but the find-spot may indicate that they are to be looked for in the north of the Dacca District.

The invocation and genealogy in thirteen stanzas, identical with those of the Mādhāinagar inscription, occupy the first 23 lines of the plate. The remainder is in prose, with the exception of the *dharm-ānuśaṁsinaḥ ślōkāḥ* (vv. 14-19)[4] which are given precisely as in the Mādhāinagar plate up to the point to which that plate is legible. The list of officials addressed corresponds in every respect with that found in other Sēna grants. But the amplification of Lakshmaṇasēna's titles which occupies six lines in the Mādhāinagar plate is here reduced to two lines (lines 26 and 27, probably corresponding to two of the three illegible lines in the Mādhāinagar plate). Lakshmaṇasēna is described in both plates as *Gauḍēśvara-paramēśvara-paramanārasiṁha-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, but the present plate omits the description of him (given in

[1] Edited by R. D. Banerji, with facsimile, in *J. P. A. S. B.*, new series, Vol. 5 (1909), pp. 467-476 ; and by N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 106-115 (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 19[illegible]).

[2] [See below p. 9 n. 3.—Ed.]

[3] [See below p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

[4] [and a verse introducing the *dāna* (v. 20).—Ed.]

lines 30-32 of the Mādhāinagar plate) as *paramadīkshita*, *parama-brahmaṇyakshatriya*, *vikalāṅkṛita-***Kaliṅga**[1] and *vikrama-vaśīkṛita-***Kāmarūpa**. It does not seem, however, that the omission here has any significance. The references to **Kaliṅga** and **Kāmarūpa**[2] made in the verse *praśasti* (lines 19 and 20) were presumably regarded as a sufficient record.

The **date** of the inscription, if Lakshmaṇasēna's reign was *c.* 1170-1200 A.D.[3], must be fixed at **c. 1197 A. D.**, and therefore very near the time of his overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. And this dating[4] cannot be far wrong if we accept—as I think we must—the solid evidence of four passages in Vallālasēna's *Adbhuta-sāgara*[5] (not to mention the colophon found in late MSS. of the royal author's *Dāna-sāgara*),[6] which give *Śaka* dates for the commencement of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (1090 = 1168-69 A.D.), for the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* (1091 = 1169-70 A.D.), and for the early part (not necessarily the first year) of Vallālasēna's[7] reign (1082 = 1160-61 A.D.). There is

[1] As read by Majumdar. Banerji reads *-kulaśa*.

[2] Here called Prāgjyōtisha.

[3] The doubts which have arisen about Lakshmaṇasēna's date are due to difficulties in the interpretation of two eras (used later but never by the Sēnas themselves):

(*a*) the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat*, which Kielhorn determined as commencing in 1118-19 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 1).

(*b*) the *atīta-rājya Lakshmaṇasēna* era used in Aśōkachalla's inscriptions.

As to (*a*) there was never any real reason for Kielhorn's very natural assumption that 1118-19 A.D. was the date of Lakshmaṇasēna's accession. The question whether it is to be taken as the date of his birth or as the date of Vijayasēna's accession, or as the date of some other landmark in Sēna history, is still *sub judice*. But, whatever the solution may be, it need not prevent the supposition that Lakshmaṇasēna's reign commenced *c.* 1170 A.D.

As to (*b*), the interpretation of the *atīta-rājya* era as commencing from the overthrow of Lakshmaṇasēna is in itself the obvious interpretation, and it seems to fit in with facts and probabilities. Contrary views are mentioned in the following note.

[4] Maintained by R. C. Majumdar, 'Chronology of the Sena Kings', in *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII (1921), pp. 7-16, and D. C. Bhattacharyya, 'Date of Lakshmaṇasena and his predecessors', in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 145-148 and 153-158. The contrary opinion is maintained by R. D. Banerji in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 277. He holds that the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat* era (1118-19 A.D.) dates from the accession of Lakshmaṇasēna and that the Aśōkachalla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 27) dated in years 31 and 74 of the *Lakshmaṇa atīta-rājya* era refer to the same epoch, their dates being therefore equivalent to 1169-70 A.D. and 1192-3 A.D. For a later discussion of the problem see P. C. Barat in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 1-9. Barat gives four passages from the *Adbhuta-sāgara* which take 1090 *Śaka* as the initial date for various calculations; and each passage mentions that this is the year in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was commenced. It seems quite impossible to reject this evidence. Barat's readjusted chronology is:—

Vijayasēna b. 1069 acc. 1095 died or retired	1158
Vallālasēna b. 1094 acc. 1158 died or retired	1168
Lakshmaṇasēna b. 1119 acc. 1168 died or retired	1182

The scheme is acceptable with the exception of the last date. The present plate shows that Lakshmaṇasēna ruled 27 years at least. Minhāj ibn Sirāj in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that "Rai Lakhminya" had been on the throne for eighty years when he was attacked by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār at Nadīya. Minhāj's statement must mean that Lakshmaṇasēna was then 80 years old. This would date the attack in 1198-99 A.D.

[5] D. C. Bhattacharyya, *loc. cit.*, gives the reference to the passages in Muralidhar Jhā's edition of the *Adbhutasāgara* (Benares, 1905), pp. 4, 125, 235 and 236.

[6] See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1915), p. 347.

[7] The length of the reign of Vijayasēna (Vallālasēna's predecessor) depends on the reading and interpretation of the date in his Barrackpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 282). Banerji read it as 32, Bhattacharyya as 61, Bhandarkar (*List*, No. 1683; p. 236, note 1) accepts the reading 61, but suggests that the year could be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, giving 1137-8 A.D. as a date for Vijayasēna. Bhandarkar's suggestion will not fit in with the date given in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (=1160-61 A.D.) for the early part of Vallālasēna's reign.

then no difficulty in accepting the tradition that it was in fact this Lakshmaṇasēna, and no other, whose overthrow by Muḥammad Baḳḥtiyār is related in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*,—an event variously dated from 1194 to 1207 A.D.[1]

TEXT.[2]

Obverse.

1 Siddham[3] [|*] Ōṁ namō Nārāyaṇāya || Yasy=āṅkē śarad-ambud-ōrasi taḍil-lēkh=ēva Gaurī priyā dēh-ārddhēna [Harir̥ṁ samā]śritam=a[bhū]d=yasy=āti-

2 chitraṁ vapuḥ | dīpt-ārkka-dyuti-lōchana-traya-ruchā ghōraṁ dadhānō mukhaṁ dēvas=tvāṁ sa nirasta-dānava-gajaḥ pushṇātu Pañchānanaḥ || [1*][4] Svar-gGa-

3 ṅgā-jala-puṇḍarīkam=amr̥ita-prāvāra[5]-dhārā-gr̥ihaṁ śr̥iṅgāra-druma-pushpam=Īśvara-śikhā-ālaṅkāra-muktā-maṇiḥ | kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-jī-

4 vitaṁ kumudinī-vr̥ind-aika-vaihāsikō[6] jīyān=Manmatha-rājya[7]-paushṭika-mahā-śānti-dvijaś-chandramāḥ || [2*][8] Tribhuvana-jaya-sambhr̥i-

5 t-ārtha[9]-k[i]ptaiḥ kratubhir=avārita[10]-sattriṇō-'marāṇām | ajanishata tad-anvayē dharitrī-valaya-viśr̥iṅkhala-kīrttayō narēndrāḥ || [3*][11]

6 Paurāṇībhiḥ kathābiḥ prathita-guṇa-ganē **Vīrasēnasya** vaṁśē **Ka[rṇāṭa**-kshatri-] yāṇām=ajani kula-śirō-dāma

7 **Sāmantasēnaḥ** | kr̥itvā nirvīram=urvvī-talam=a[dhika]tarām[12] tr̥ipyatā nāka-nadyū-[ṁ nirṇi]ktō yēna [yudhyad-ripu-rudhira]-kaṇ-ā-

8 kīr[ṇṇ]a-dhāraḥ kr̥ipāṇaḥ || [4*][13] Vīrāṇām=adhidaivataṁ ripu-[chamū]-mār-ā[ṅkama]lla-vratas=tasmā[d]=vismayanīya-[śaurya-]ma[h]i[mā]

9 **Hēmantasēnō**=[14]bhavat | kshīrōd-ādha[r]a-vā[s]asō Vasumatī-dēvyā yadīyaṁ yasō ratnasy=ēva [Su]mēru-mauli-mi-

10 lita[ṁ] kshauma-śr̥iyaṁ pushyati || [5*][15] Ajani **Vijayasēnas**=tējas[ā]ṁ rāśir=asmāt samara-vi[sr̥ima]rāṇ[āṁ] bhūbhr̥itām=ē-

11 ka-śēshaḥ [|*] iha jagati vishēhē yēna vaṁśasya pūrvvaḥ purusha iti sudhāṁśau kēvala[ṁ] rāja-śav(b)dah || [6*][16] Bhū-chakraṁ

[1] See Raverty's translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Work No. 78, published in 1881), pages 554-558. Raverty (footnote, p. 559) argues for the date 1194. From the side of Sēna chronology a date near 1198 would seem to be indicated.

[2] Square brackets are used to indicate what is illegible but has been supplied. Round brackets indicate a necessary emendation. A single dot enclosed within square brackets indicates an illegible element in an *akshara*.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] The Mādhāinagar plate has *-prāddāra-*. I find no authority for either word. [Probably we have to take *prā-sr̥i* here in the sense of 'to fill'. See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *prā-sr̥i*.—Ed.]

[6] Mādhāinagar *-vaihāsakō*.

[7] Mādhāinagar *-rāja-*.

[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[9] This is the reading also in Mādhāinagar.

[10] Mādhāinagar *-avādhita-*. [Reading in M. also seems to be *-avdrita-*.—Ed.]

[11] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

[12] [Reading both here and in Mādhāinagar is clearly *sapi sa tarāṁ tripyatā*, *i.e.*, not being fully satisfied even after, etc.—Ed.]

[13] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[14] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[15] Metre: *Mālinī*.

12 kiyad-ētad-āvṛitam-abhūd-yad-Vāmanasy-āṅghriṇā Nāgānāṁ kiyad āspadaṁ yad[1]-
urasā la[ṅgh]anti[2] gūḍhāṅghrayaḥ | ēk-āhā-[3]
13 d-yad-anūrur-añchati kiyan-mātraṁ tad=apy-amva(mba)ra[ṁ] yasy-ōt-īva yaśō hriyā
tribhuvana-vyāptyā-pi[4] nō tṛipyati || [7*][5] Tasmād-aśē[sha-]
14 bhuvan-ōtsava-pūrvvaṇ-ēndur[6]-v**Vallālasēna**-jagatīpatīr=ujjagāma | yaḥ kēvalaṁ na
khalu sarvva-[narē]śvarāṇām=ēkaḥ sa-
15 magra-vidushām[7]-api chakravartti(rtī)[8] || [8*][9] Parāpar[10]-āntaḥpura-mauli-ratnaṁ[11]
Chālukya-bhūpāla-kul-ē[ndu-lē]khā | tasya[12] [priy=ābhū-]
16 d=va(ba)humāna-bhūmir=[Lakshmī-Pṛithivyōr=api **Rāmadēvī** || [9*][13] Ētābhyāṁ[14]
Vasudēva-Dēvakasu[tā]-dōh-āntarā[bhyā]m-iva [śrī]mal-**La-**
17 **kshmaṇasēna**-mūrttir=ajani kshmāpāla-Nārāyaṇaḥ | chakrē[15] yan-maya-janma-nissaha-
milan-nidrāndha-vach-cha[ñchalāt | kṛi-][16]
18 shṭēn=ādhi-payōdhi kañchukam-iva [tyaktvā!] pramu[gdhaṁ] vapuḥ ||[17] [10*][18] Dṛipyad-[19]
Gauḍēśvara-śrī-haṭha-haraṇa-kalā yasya kaumā-
19 ra-kēliḥ **Kāliṅgēn**-āṅganābhiḥ[20] pratipada ⌣ dhadāś-chakrirē[21] yasya yūnaḥ | yēn-
āsau **Kāśirājaḥ** samara-
20 bhuvī jitō yasya nistriṁśa[22]-dhārā-bhīruḥ **Prāgjyōtishēndraś**-charaṇa-[23]ja-rajasā nirm-
mamē kārmmaṇāni || [11*][24] Ā-kāū-

[1] Mādhāinagar reading doubtful, and unintelligible. Banerji reads *āsyedarpaṁ*, Majumdar *āddhyedaryaṁ*. The India Office plate is clear and intelligible.

[2] The illegible *akshara* is so read by Majumdar in the Mādhāinagar plate. Banerji reads *lapanti*.

[3] So read by Banerji in the Mādhāinagar plate. Majumdar reads *ēkāhā*, remarking that the sign for *ā* is not clear, but seems to be intended.

[4] Majumdar reads *'sasa syāpy-ā'*, Banerji *sa-syāpy-ā'*. *Tyāpyā* is clear on this plate.

[5] Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[6] Mādhāinagar *bhāsvadvar*. *Pūrvvaṇḍadar* is clear on this plate.

[7] Mādhāinagar *civadhāṁ*. India Office plate clearly *vidushāṁ*.

[8] Mādhāinagar *'ntī*.

[9] Metre : *Upajāti*.

[10] The India Office plate appears to read *parāparā*, not *dharādharā* as in the Mādhāinagar plate. [Obviously the intended reading is *dharādhar-āntaḥpura*.—Ed.]

[11] Mādhāinagar *ratna*-. The India Office plate shows clearly the *anusvāra* which the metre demands.

[12] *Tasya* is clear. Majumdar's reading *tasyā* must be mistaken.

[13] Metre : *Upajāti*.

[14] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[15] These two syllables, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are fairly clear here. But a mark attached to *ga* suggests *ḍya*. If it is not accidental, *cakāḍē* must be read.

[16] Mādhāinagar reads *mānd-vindāsavachchañchalāt-kṛi*. The India Office plate clearly has *mādhavasi*. What follows is only partly legible, and remains unintelligible. [Reading seems to be *-āsava(ba)ndhav-chchalāt*. —Ed.]

[17] The India Office plate is more legible than the Mādhāinagar plate, but I have failed to obtain an intelligible reading.

[18] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[19] These two *aksharas*, apparently illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are quite clear here. Majumdar reads *ōvīd*.

[20] So also the Mādhāinagar plate. The remainder of this *pāda* is illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, except the last three *aksharas*, read as *-rē yasya pūrvvaḥ*. The India Office plate, but for one *akshara*, is legible. [See next note.—Ed.] The last word cannot be *pūrvvaḥ*.

[21] [Reading seems to be *pratipadam=asa(ya)dā-chakrirē*. The idea is that the king of Kaliṅga accompanied by his wives often presented gifts to him (ecce) when the latter was young.—Ed.]

[22] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[23] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[24] Metre *Svāgatā* (not *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, as inadvertently stated by Majumdar).

India Office Plate of Lakshmanasena.

Obverse.



Reverse.



21 mārais samara-jayinā kurvvat-sūrvvīm-avīrām-ētēn-āmi katham-iva diśām-ī[ś]itārō vinuktāḥ[1] | [a]shṭa[.]aṅgē[2] va-

22 pushi kalayā tasya tē-shṭau pravishṭāḥ pra[dhva]stēti[3] prabhavati na hi kshattriyā-ṇāṁ kṛipāṇaḥ[4] || [12*][5] Yatr-ārāma-druma-dala-[ru-]

23 chā **Śaivaliny**-arddha-śṛiṅgāḥ [pra]syandy-ambhō-janapada[6]-gaṇair-yēshu [r]ōmāñchitā bhūḥ | prāṇān muñchanty-avanipatayō

24 nō cha naryān-anēna grāmās-tē tē sapadi dadirē kōṭisaḥ śāsanāni[7] || [13*][8] Tē khalu.....**grāma**[9]-parisara-sa-

25 māvā[sit]a-[10]śrīma[j-jaya-skandh]āvārā[t] paramēśvara-parama-Vai[shṇ]ava-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhirā]ja-śrī-**Vallā**-

26 **lasēna**-dēva-pādānudhyā[ta-] vi....n-jagad-dhanya-Ma[ṇ]dara-pramathita-sōma[11]-sama-rasāgara-samās-āditya-Śrī[.] **Lakshm-īva**[12] **Sē-**

27 **na**-kula-kuśēsha(śa)ya-vikāsa-vāsarakara[13]-**Gauḍēśvara**-paramēśvara-parama-Nārasiṁha-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-

28 jādhirāja-śrīmal-**Lakshmaṇasēna**-dēva-pādā vijayinaḥ | samupagat-āśēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñī-rā[ṇaka-rā]-

29 japutra-rājāmātya-mahāpurōhita-mahādharmmādhyaksha-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnā-pati-mahāmudrādhi[kṛi]-

30 t-āntaraṅga-v(b)ṛihaduparika-mahākshapaṭalika-mahāpratīhāra-mahābhō[gika-mahā-] pūpati-mahāgaṇastha-dauḥ-

[1] These two *pādas*, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are fortunately clear.

[2] First *akshara* illegible. The omitted character in the third *akshara* looks legible but I have failed to identify it. The metre requires a conjunct consonant. [Possibly *aṅkṣa-prāṅgē* and used as qualifying *tapasā*.—Ed.]

[3] [Reading may be *prahṛiṣṭēti*.—Ed.]

[4] In these two *pādas* again the India Office plate supplies the *akṣaras* in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[5] Metre *Mandākrāntā*.

[6] [I would read *Śaivaliny-ūr[d]dhva[gaṅgā]-sanya-syūjā[ḥ]*-*janapada*.—Ed.]

[7] The India Office plate supplies with certainty the last four syllables of the first *pāda*, and (less certainly) the whole of the second *pāda*. It supplies the second half of the third *pāda* and the whole of the fourth *pāda*, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate. *Naryān* however remains unintelligible. [Reading is *saryie-anēna*, *saryas* meaning the two objects of human desire, viz., heaven and earth.—Ed.]

[8] Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

[9] Majumdar reads *nirgatē khalu Dhāryyagrāma-*, etc. It seems clear that the India Office plate follows the Mādhāinagar plate in this line. But *ri* is followed by a punctuation mark, apparently read as *°rgu°* by Majumdar. The *akshara* following the punctuation mark can only be read, with Majumdar, as *tē*. It is the demonstrative pronoun anticipating *Lakshmaṇasēnadēva-pādāḥ* in line 28. The place-name may be the same as in the Mādhāinagar plate. As it stands I should read *Phuppḥagrāma*. But corrosion produces such strange effects that what now looks like *Phu* might once have been *Dhā*. Superscript *r* easily disappears, so that the second *akshara* might be *-ryyu*.

[10] From this point up to the word *Gauḍēśvara* in line 27 the Mādhāinagar version, so far as legible, differs widely from the present inscription. These two and a half lines (25-27) of the India Office plate replace no less than seven lines (25-32) in the Mādhāinagar plate (three of which are altogether illegible). The lines omitted in the India Office plate include references to Lakshmaṇasēna as having "crippled" Kaliṅga and subdued Kāmarūpa.

[11] [To me the reading appears to be *°dhyātō nija-bhuja-.....Mandara-pramathit-āsīma-*.—Ed.]

[12] [Correct reading is *amśāsīdīn-Gauḍa-Lakshmīva-*.—Ed.]

[13] For the preceding phrase compare the Edilpur grant of Kēśavasēna, line 41, *Sēna-kula-kumuda-śikhāsa-khāskaru*. From the word *Gauḍēśvara* up to the middle of line 34 the present inscription is identical with the corresponding part (line 33-39) of the Mādhāinagar plate.

Reverse.

31 sādhī[ka]-chaurō[ddha]raṇika-nau-va(ba)la-hasty-aśva-gō-mahish-āj- āvik - ādi - vyāpṛitaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapāśi-

32 ka-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn[1] anyāṁś=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō='dhyaksha-prachār-ōktān=ih=ākīrtti-

33 tān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātīyān janapadān kshētrakarān vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān yath-ārhaṁ mānayanti vō(bō)dha-

34 [yanti] samādiśanti cha matam=astu bhavatām yathā śrī-**Pauṇḍravarddhana**-bhukty-antaḥpāti-**Vāśchaś**-āvṛitty[2]-antarggata-**Vaṭumvi**[3]-chatu-

35 rakē pūrvvē **Khāvōlāpāṇḍiḥ**[4] sīmā | dakshiṇē **Jaladāṇḍi**[5][ḥ] sīmā | paśchimē **Sujanadī**[6] sīmā | uttarē=pi tathā

36 [sīmā | ittha]ṁ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ **Kavilli-Chuāchali-Gāṇḍōli-Dēhipā**[7] -khaṇḍa-kshētra-samēta-Vāpa[8]-

37 chaturakē pūrvē[9] [Tr]aḍapāsalamvanni[10]-bhū-sūtra-dvayaṁ Siṁhaḍāvillī tathā Kaimajagrāvāḍī[11] paśchima-kā-

38 ṇḍas=tathā.....jiprastarīya[12]-chatuḥ-sūtra[13]-bhūs=taj-jala-nirggama-jāśraḥ[14] sīmā dakshiṇē Jaladāṇḍiḥ sīmā

39 paśchimē Khāvō[lāpāṇḍiḥ[15] sī]mā | uttarē Valēṅgavēnadaḥ[16] sīmā | itthaṁ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnō mā-

40 makēśa-dēva-dēśaḥ | ittham=ētāv=upari-likhita-bhū-sīm-āvachchhinnaṁ [|][17] dvāviṁśati-hastē-

[1] The initial vowel follows. There is a tendency to separate the different categories in this list by not applying *sandhi*, and by using a punctuation mark (a dot or short upright line).

[2] *Vāśchaś* is an improbable name. The second *akshara* remains doubtful. And, but for the fact that *āvṛitti* is always read in Sēna plates as the name of an administrative division of land I should have read the last three *akshara*s as *°śī-vritty°*.

[3] *Vaṭumvi(mbi)* seems clear.

[4] This is clear. The same name appears to occur in line 39, in describing the western boundary of the second lot of land granted.

[5] This is clear. The name recurs in line 38, in describing the southern boundary of the second lot of land granted.

[6] Reading doubtful. The character read *d* could be *k* or *d*.

[7] I take these to be the names of four separate *khaṇḍa-kshētra*s, and I find confirmation for this assumption in the phrase *khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatushṭaya* in line 42. The names are quite legible. [There appears to be a *daṇḍa* after each name.—Ed.]

[8] Perhaps *Āpa°*.

[9] There is no trace of the doubling of *v*.

[10] This appears to give the name of a field. I am indebted to the Editor for the reading *bhū-sūtra-dvayam Siṁhaḍāvillī*.

[11] [To me the reading appears to be *Chēnaṇḍagrēvaṭī*.—Ed.]

[12] This seems to conceal a place-name.

[13] The partly obliterated mark below the character *s* is probably *ū*. But the meaning of *sūtra* remains obscure in such a compound.

[14] *jāśraḥ* conveys no meaning to me, but I cannot read it in any other way. [To me the reading appears to be *jāśaḥ* for Skr. *pāśaḥ*.—Ed.]

[15] What remains legible suggests this reading. The same village has been mentioned above, line 35.

[16] [Reading seems to be *Vāsahāra-nadaḥ* which may be identical with the river *Bāsār*, N. N. E. of Jaydevpur. —Ed.]

[17] The mark which I have taken as a punctuation sign is an unusual angular mark.

41 [na parimitaḥ][1].....va-bhū-samēta-kākinō dvāvimśati-yashṭy-adhika-pādik-ōpēta-drōṇik-ānvita-

42 daśa.....kau saṁvatsarēṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-śata-chatushṭay-ōtpattikau khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatushṭaya-sa-

43 [mē]ta-.....kiyad-ēka-bhū-bhāgau sa-jhāṭa-viṭapau sa-jala-sthalau sa-gar[tt-ōsha-

44 rau sa-guvāka-nārikēlau sahya-daś-āpa]rādhau parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍāv-a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēśāv-a-kiñchi[t-pra-]

45 [grāhyau tṛiṇa-yūti-gō]chara[-paryantau Buddha]dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Jaya-dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Mahādēva-

46 [dēva]śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Maudgalya-sa-gōtrāya Aurvva-Chyavana-Bhārggava-Jāmadagny-Āpnavāna-pravarāya[2] Sāma-vēda-Kauthuma-

47 śā[khā]-charaṇ-ā[nudhyāyi]nē **Pāṭhaka**-śrī-**Padmanābhadēva**śarmmaṇē puṇyē-ha]ni vidhivad-udaka-pūrvvakaṁ bhagava-

48 [ntaṁ śrīman-Nā]rāyaṇa-bha[ṭṭāra]kam-uddiśya mahādēvī-.....**pādēvī**-[3]mahādēvī-**Kalyāṇadēvy[ō]ḥ**[4] [puṇya-prā]pti-ni-

49 [mittaṁ].....samastēna śata-chatushṭay-ōtpattikāṁ bhūmiṁ-utsṛijy-ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāva-

50 [d-bhūmi-chchhidra-]nyāyēna tāmra-śāsanīkri[tya pra]dattāv-asmābhiḥ | tad-bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair-ēv-ānumantavyaṁ | bhāvi-

51 [bhir-api nṛipa]tibhir-apaharaṇē naraka-pāta-bhayāt pālanē dharmma-gauravāt śāsanam-idaṁ pālanīyam [|] bhava-

52 nti ch-ātra dharmm-ā[nuśaṁsinaḥ] ślōkāḥ | Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś-cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | u[bhau tau] puṇya-ka[rmmā]ṇau ni-

53 yataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya[dā bhūmis-] ta[sya tasya] tadā

[1] If -na is present it is a subsequent addition above the line; *parimitaḥ* is vaguely outlined on the damaged surface, I think. But the reading is conjectural.

[2] I owe the reading of the fifth *pravara*-name to the Editor. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali had suggested that either *Vāṭsya* or *Sāvarṇa* is required as the *gōtra*, in view of the first four *pravaras*. At that time the name of the fifth *pravara* had not been read.

[3] In this name the first *akshara* is so ambiguous that I do not venture to read it. It must give the name of one of the two queens. The first *akshara* resembles *Śrī*; but this gives no intelligible name. It is possible that an initial vowel has combined by *sandhi* with the last vowel in *mahādēvī*. [The correct reading is *Śrī(Śrī)pādēvī*, a name not unfamiliar in inscriptions. A Telugu inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma, dated Śaka 1050, mentions Śrīyyādēvī, the *mahādēvī* of Anantavarman(-Chōḍagaṅga), (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1196). Another Telugu record in the temple of Kēśavasvāmin, on a hill near Koṇidena, dated Śaka 1075 gives Śrīyā-mahādēvī as the name of the mother of the Telugu Chōḍa chief, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalladēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 634).—Ed.]

[4] I have no doubt that two queens are meant. The termination, as the plate now stands, looks like the singular (*Kalyāṇadēvyāḥ*); but there is room for the additional stroke which would turn this into *-dēvyōḥ*. Unfortunately, the names found in other plates for Lakshmaṇasēna's consorts are diversely read. In the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 25) Banerji reads Taṭṭaṇadēvī, Majumdar *Tyaṣṭaṇadēvī*. In the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna (line 23) Majumdar read the name of Lakshmaṇasēna's other consort as *Chāndrādēvī*, but in the Madanapāḍā plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 21) he reads it as *Tāḍādēvī*, while Vasu reads *Tāndrādēvī*. [I would read the name of the queen in l. 25 of the Sāhitya Parishad plate as *śrīmaty-Ādhaṇadēvī*. The name of the queen in l. 21 of the Madanapāḍā plate is certainly Tāḍādēvī as read by Majumdar. If the name read as Chāndrādēvī in the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna l. 23, is identical with Tāḍādēvī, which appears possible, the Sēna records so far known have furnished the names of at least four queens of Lakshmaṇasēna, viz., Śriyādēvī, Kalyāṇadēvī, Alhaṇadēvī and Tāḍādēvī. See the following note.—Ed.]

54 phalaṁ(lam) || [15*] [Āsphō]ṭayanti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō-smat-
kulē jātaḥ sa nas-trā[tā bha]vishyati || [16*] Sha-
55 [shṭiṁ] varsha-sa[hasrāṇi sva]rggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha
[tā]ny-ēva narak[ē vasēt] ||[17*] Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā [yō]
56 [ha]rēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | [sa] vishṭhāyāṁ krimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||
[18*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam-anuchintya
57 [manushya-jī]vitañ-cha | [saka]lam-idam-udāhṛitañ-cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purusha-ḥ
para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ || [19*] **Ari-rāja-Mada-**
58 **na-Śaṅkara**-narapatir-akarōn-mantri-śata-mukhyaṁ(khyam) [|*] **Śaṅkaradharam**-ihā
dūtaṁ Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahikaṁ(kam) [|| 20*][1]
59 Śrī ni | mahā[-sā]ṁ ni | śrīma[d-rā]ja nī[?] | śrī-**Madana-Śaṅkara** ni. | śrīmat sāṅga-
samaya-ni.[2] | **saṁ. 27 kā. dinē 6.**

TRANSLATION.

Success. Ōṁ. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 1) May the god Pañchānana give you prosperity, in whose embrace his beloved Gaurī is like the lightning flash on the bosom of an autumn cloud, whose resplendent form rests with half his body in Hari; who makes his countenance terrible with three eyes shining like the burning sun; who as a lion (*pañchānana*) has vanquished the elephants who are the *dānavas*.[3]

(V. 2) Victory to the Moon, the lotus in the stream of the heavenly Ganges, the fountain of ambrosia-showers, the flower on the tree of love, the pearl adorning the head of the Lord:—(*the Moon*) whose being is from the milky sea and who alone can make the lotus-clusters smile, the priest in the great rite which augments the kingdom of Love.

(V. 3) In his (*i.e.*, the Moon's) line were born princes who offered *sattras* to the Immortals incessantly, the sacrifices being performed with the wealth gathered during their conquest of the three worlds; princes whose fame was not confined within the girdle of the globe.

(V. 4) In **Vīrasēna's** family, the tale of whose virtues is told in Paurāṇic histories, **Sāmantasēna** was born, a garland on the brow of the race of **Karṇāṭa** *kshatriyas*:—who, being fully satisfied after[4] leaving the face of the earth without a warrior, cleansed in the heavenly stream his sword, its edge dripping with the blood of opposing foemen.

(V. 5) From him was **Hēmantasēna,** the presiding deity of warriors, whose sworn purpose was the destruction[5] of the armies of his enemies, whose majesty and might were objects of wonder; whose fame, like a jewel in the crown of the Sumēru mountain, bears the beauty of the silken (*upper*) garment of the goddess of Earth, the lower being the milky ocean.

[1] [Metre: *Āryā*; the second *pāda* is short by one syllabic instant.—Ed.]

[2] The reading and interpretation of *sāṅga-samaya-ni* are doubtful. See the footnote to this line in the translation.

[3] I am indebted to the Editor for the reading of the *aksharas* °*e-tōṣa ni*, and for the now intelligible translation of this clause.

[4] [See above, p. 5 n. 12.—Ed.]

[5] *Mārdanāvasāna* is, as Majumdar points out, parallel to *Mārdanakṣētra* in the Dēōpāra inscription (line 10, there also applied to Hēmantasēna), and occurs in a verse ascribed in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛita* to Umāpatidhara, the poet who composed the Dēōpāra inscription (*J. P. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, verse 5, referred to by Majumdar, p. 193). Since verses 4 and 6 of the Mādhāinagar (and India Office) plate are parallel to verses 5 and 16 of the Dēōpāra inscription it has been suggested that Umāpatidhara is the author also of this *praśasti*. See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. V (1909), p. 469 (referred to by Majumdar, p. 197).

(V. 6) From him was born **Vijayasēna**, a mass of splendour, the only remainder of princes moving about in battles, by whom the name "King" was suffered in this world only in the case of the Moon, as being the progenitor ancestor of his house.

(V. 7) His fame is not satisfied with even the pervasion of the three worlds, (*thinking*) as it were with shame: "How extensive could the circuit of the earth be which was covered by the foot of the Dwarf! How large the abode of the Nāgas (*i.e.*, the nether world) which the serpents traverse on their bellies! How spacious the sky which the thighless one (*i.e.*, Aruṇa) crosses in a single day!"

(V. 8) From him issued **Vallālasēna**, lord of the earth, full moon of the whole world's rejoicing, who was sole suzerain not indeed of all princes alone but also of all learned men.

(V. 9) **Rāmadēvī**, the crest-jewel of far and near *heroes*,[1] the crescent moon of the family of the **Chālukya** princes, who was an object of deep veneration even for Lakshmi and Pṛithivī, was his consort.[2]

(V. 10) From these two, who were as Vasudēva and Dēvakī themselves re-incarnated, was born Nārāyaṇa himself in the form of the illustrious King **Lakshmaṇasēna**, ... [3].

(V. 11) Whose sport in youth was the art of taking away by violence the fortune of the proud King of **Gauḍa**; whose....when a young man were made by the prince of **Kaliṅga** by means of women;[4] by whom that king of **Kāśi** was defeated on the field of battle; fearing the edge of whose sword the lord of **Prāgjyōtisha** performed magic rites with the dust from his feet.[5]

(V. 12) How has he, who has from his very boyhood been victorious in battles rendering the earth empty of warriors, spared the guardians of the regions? (*Because*) these eight have entered his body consisting of eight principal parts, each according to his share (*kalā*)[6] and the sword of *kshatriyas* does not act when (*an enemy has*) already fallen (or has sought refuge).[7]

(V. 13) Where, with the beauty of the foliage of the garden trees, [are] the half-curves of the **Śaivalinī**, in which the earth is thrilled with the beauties of the denizens of the moving water. Princes lose their lives, but not thereby (*the merit of their gifts*).[8] These villages [and] royal charters in tens of millions at one time have been given.[9]

[1] [See above, p. 6 n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] [The idea apparently is that the king had several consorts among whom were counted also Lakshmi (*i.e.*, sovereignty) and Pṛithivī (*i.e.*, earth, territory). The last two were held in high esteem, but Rāmadēvī was respected even by them. With this description of Vallālasēna we may compare that of Dilīpa in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, I, 32: "*Kalatravantam-ātmānam-avarōdhē mahaty-api | tayā mēnē manasvinyā Lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipaḥ* ||", to which Mallināṭha's comments are: "*tayā Sudakshiṇayā, Lakshmyā cha.....Vasudhādhipa ity-anēna Vasudhayā ch-āpi gamyatē.*"—Ed.]

[3] The reading of the rest of verse 10 is too uncertain to admit of translation.

[4] The reference to Kāliṅga remains unintelligible, in the absence of a complete reading. I conjecture the meaning to be that tribute on *pratipad* days in the shape of a gift of women was paid by the ruler of Kaliṅga to Lakshmaṇasēna, when the latter was a young man. [There is no evidence of Lakshmaṇasēna's sporting with or receiving gifts of Kaliṅga ladies. See above, p. 6 n. 21.—Ed.]

[5] The reference is obscure. [Kāmarūpa is traditionally famous for sorcery.—Ed.]

[6] [Cf. *aṣṭāvaṣṭau dik-pālānāṁ mātṛibhir-nirmitō nṛipaḥ*. Also *Manusmṛiti*, *VII*, 4-7.—Ed.]

[7] The translation follows the Editor's reading. See above p. 7, nn. 2, 3.—Ed.

[8] *Naryān* is clear, but not intelligible. [Read *naryāṇ*. See above p. 7, n. 7.—Ed.]

[9] The construction is at least awkward, and leads me to suspect that I have misread something. [According to my reading the translation would be: where the river is like the heavenly Ganges (*i.e.*, Mandākinī) on account of the beauty of the gardens and foliage (*found along its banks*); where the earth, on account of the merits of the country (*janapada*), is so thrilled that her hair stands on end in the guise of the (*standing*) crops; (*where*) the rulers would fain give up their lives but not the two supreme objects of desire—heaven and earth—and therefore divers villages were given (*by them*) in great numbers by means of grants.—Ed.]

(Ll. 24-28) His Majesty, from his illustrious camp of victory pitched in the environs of.....[1] **-grāma**, meditating on the feet of the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings **Vallālasēna-dēva**:—His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings the victorious **Lakshmaṇasēna-dēva**, the Moon churned up by Mount Mandara out of the wealth of the...world, the Āditya of battles, the Śrī of the ocean (*of knowledge*),[2] the Lakshmī of word-composition, the sun that opens the lotus of the Sēna family, the lord of Gauḍa, the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Narasiṁha:—

(Ll. 28-32) to the assembled[3] chiefs, chieftains, and queens, the *Rājñakas*, the nobles, the royal councillors, the Chief Priest, the Minister for Justice, the Minister for Peace and War, the Commander-in-Chief, the Keeper of the Seal, the *Antaraṅga*, the *Bṛihaduparika*, the Superintendent of Accounts, the Chamberlain, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahāpīlupati*, the *Mahāgaṇastha*, the *Dauḥsādhikas*, the Superintendents of Police, those in charge of ships, troops, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like, overseers of forests, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, officers in charge of districts (*vishayapati*), etc., and all other servants of His Majesty named in the list of officials[4] and not here mentioned—

(L. 33) to persons belonging to the Chaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭa class, to the people in general, cultivators, Brāhmaṇas, and the chief Brāhmaṇas[5]—

(Ll. 34-37) (*His Majesty as aforesaid*) sends greeting as is fit and notification and command:—Be it noted by you that (*two parcels of land, as follows*):—(1) in the *chaturaka* **Vaṭumbī** which forms part of the *āvṛitti* **Vāśchaśa** (?) situated in the *bhukti* **Puṇḍravarddhana**, land bounded on the *east* by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**, on the *south* by **Jaladāṇḍi**, on the *west* and likewise the *north* by **Sujanadī**(?)—[the land] thus defined by four boundaries, together with the part-lands **Kavillī**, **Chuñchalī**, **Gāṇḍōlī** and **Dēhipā**;

[1] See above, p. 7, n. 9.

[2] *Sāgara* may have a double reference to (1) the sea, from which Śrī emerged at the churning of the ocean, (2) the four *sāgaras* or encyclopædias composed by Vallālasēna (*Adbhuta*°, *Dāna*°, *Pratishṭhā*° and *Āchāra-sāgara*), —although Lakshmaṇasēna was part-author of the first only. [According to my reading this portion should be translated as: who has obtained the sovereignty of Gauḍa by churning the boundless ocean of battles with the Mandara (*mountain*) in the shape of his own arm....See p. 7, notes 11, 12.—Ed.]

[3] It is not to be supposed that any of the officials and others to whom the rescript is addressed were in fact assembled. The list appears to cover four categories—

(a) the court or personal entourage of the King,

(b) the great Ministers of State, usually marked by the prefix *Mahā-*,

(c) officials not of the highest rank, probably intended to be specified in the plural (from *dauḥsādhika* to *vishayapati*),

(d) petty officials and the general public.

[4] *Adhyakṣha-prachāra* is the title of the chapter on officials in the *Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra*. There was no doubt a Sēna Civil List defining the various officers and their duties.

[5] Majumdar (*op. cit.* pp. 182-188) has an appendix on terms denoting official titles in Sēna inscriptions. He relies in the main on J. P. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State: Part I, Inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period* (*Arch. Survey, New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI, 1911); referring also to the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Csoma de Kōrōs' ed. and transl., *A. S. B. Memoirs*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1910, pp. 29-35) and other sources. The following among his references may be mentioned in particular...*Antaraṅga*, court-physician (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43); *Uparika* (*Bṛihaduparika*), viceroy (Vogel p. 123; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff., the Damodarpur plates); *Gaulmika* (Vogel p. 127; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 52; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 33); *Chaṭṭa*, head of a *paṛgaṇā* (Vogel pp. 130-132; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, 296, 299; *ibid.*, XI, 19, 296, 299); *Chaurōddharaṇika* (Vogel p. 129); *Daṇḍapāśika* 'one who holds the rod and rope' (Vogel, p. 129); *Bhaṭṭa* (Vogel p. 132; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18; and reference to *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 31); *Mahākshapaṭalika* (Vogel p. 133); *Mahāpīlupati* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, 43; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 30); *Mahāpratīhāra* (Vogel p. 135; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190); *Mahāvyūhika* or *Mahāvyūhapati* (Vogel p. 130; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, note 6).

(Ll. 37-40) (2) in the *chaturaka*....., land bounded on the *east* by two *sūtras* of land and **Sirihaḍāvillī** situate in....., also by the southern portion of **Kaimajagrā-vāḍi,**[1] also by the water-exit situate in.....;
on the *south* by **Jaladāṇḍi**; on the *west* by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**; on the *north* by **Valēṅgavēnada,**[2] the land thus defined by four boundaries [and being] the demesne of.....**makēśa-dēva,**

(Ll. 40-43) (*these two parcels of land*) thus measured and defined each by its own boundaries above mentioned,.....comprising a *drōṇika* and one quarter *plus* 22 *yashṭis* by the 22 cubit (*measure*).....
.....producing 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas* annually, with the four part-fields.....
..... being two parts of one estate, with undergrowth and saplings, water and dry ground, broken ground and barren ground, betel and coconaut trees; saving the ten sins [†], exempt from all annoyances, without right of entry by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas, free from all dues, with grass, *yūti*, pasturage and boundaries:—

To the *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhadēva-śarman,** follower of a school of the **Kauthuma** branch of the Sāma-vēda, of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Aurva Chyavana Bhārgava Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna *pravaras*, son of Mahādēvadēva-śarman, grandson of Jayadēva-śarman and great-grandson of Buddhadēva(?)-śarman:—

(Ll. 48-50) on a holy day, in due form, with the water-rite, in the name of the holy one, the glorious lord Nārāyaṇa, to win merit for the *Mahādēvī*.. **pādēvī** and the *Mahādēvī* **Kalyāṇa-dēvī**[3]:—

We renounce for so long as the Moon and Sun and Earth endure.....this land producing in all 400 (*kapardaka-purāṇas,*) and by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, having turned this into a title-deed on copper We hereby give it.

(Ll. 50-51) This is to be observed by you all without exception. By princes to come also this charter is to be maintained, from the fear of being cast into Hell if they should take away (*the land granted*) and from the high esteem of virtuous conduct if they maintain it. And in this connection there are verses enjoining (*such*) virtuous conduct: [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 57-58) The King, **Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara**[4], has made the *Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Śaṅkaradhara,** chief of a hundred councillors, his agent.

(L. 59) His Majesty's[5] secretary.[6] The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*'s[7] secretary. The secretary for the royal documents[8] of His Majesty the King the illustrious **Madana-Śaṅkara**[9], **In the year 27 on day 6 of Kārttika.**

[1] [*Chīmadagrāvaṭī*? See above p. 8 n. 11.—Ed.]

[2] [See above, p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.] [3] [See above, p. 9 n. 3 and n. 4.—Ed.]

[4] *Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara* was the special title assumed by Lakshmaṇasēna. See, for example, the Edilpur copper-plate of Kēśavasēna, line 42.

[5] *Śrī* I take to be a symbol for royalty (the King) here.

[6] The abbreviation *ni* appears to correspond to the final syllable in *karaṇaṁ* found in the last line of other Sēna plates, and to have some such meaning as is conveyed in the translation 'secretary'. [This abbreviation probably stands for *niyuddhaṁ*.—Ed.]

[7] Abbreviated here, *Mahāsōm*.

[8] *Sāṅgu-samaya ni* is obscure. I take it to mean "secretary for completed contracts", registration officer. (I was inclined to read *sāṅgu-sa*[*m*.] *saptavi*, taking *saptavi* as a contraction for *saptaviṁśē*, and understanding *sāṅgu-saṁvatsarē* to mean "in the completed year". But this is hardly justified.) [To me the reading appears to be *Śākasamaya ni*.—Ed.]

[9] The reading *śrīmad=rāja ni* is doubtful; and *ni* following *Madana-Śaṅkara* is again doubtful. The royal secretary cannot be thrice mentioned (*Śrī ni : śrīmad=rāja ni | Śrī-Madana-Śaṅkara ni*). The translation given does not correspond with these doubtful readings, but may possibly convey the intended meaning.

No. 2.—RAJAHMUNDRY MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TELUGU CHODA ANNADEVA.

By N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras.

These plates were originally discovered at **Annavaram** near Tuni in the East Godavari District; and they are at present deposited in the Municipal Museum at Rajahmundry[1]. The following description of the condition of the plates is given in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, Madras, for 1911-12:

"There are at present only four plates, the first of which is written on the inner side while the rest are written on both sides. The plates are not held together by a ring, and it is perhaps for this reason that we find some of them missing from the set. They roughly measure $11\frac{3}{4}$" by $5\frac{1}{2}$", and bear a circular hole on the left margin which was evidently meant to receive the ring. From the numbering of the plates found on their inner faces, not far from the ring hole, it is gathered that the missing plates must be the 2nd, 5th, 6th and one or more after the 7th."[2]

The plates are engraved in the **Telugu** characters of the early 15th century, resembling the alphabet of the other inscriptions particularly of the Reddi kings of the period, and call for no special remarks. As the letters are deeply cut the inscription offers no difficulty in decipherment.

Orthography: The cerebral *ḷa* is frequently used in the place of the dental *la*, *e.g. nikhiḷa* (I, *l.* 1), *akhiḷa* (*l.* 3,), *kamaḷa* (*l.* 3.); *khēḷanti* (IV, *l.* 38), *taḷēkha* (*l.* 37), etc. *Śa* is occasionally substituted for *sa* as in *Śiḷpa* (III, *l.* 10), *Śiḷpaya* (VII, *l.* 8), etc. The *anusvāra* is invariably employed for the nasal; occasionally the letter following the *anusvāra* is needlessly doubled as in *prasaṁṁā* in I, *l.* 5; the consonant following the *rēphe* is doubled in certain places, *e.g.*, *upasarggya* (IV, *l.* 38), *jāgartti*, (III, *l.* 26), *sūrtti* (III, *l.* 23), etc. The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections have been indicated either in the body of the text or in the foot-notes accompanying it.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text so far available, which is entirely in verse, consists of 68 complete verses and parts of two others. Of these, 47, including the two fragments, are in the *Vasantatilakā*, 17 in the *Āryā*, 4 in the *Upajāti*, 1 in the *Drutavilambita*, and 1 in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metres.

The four plates bear the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 7. On the assumption that they all belong to one set of plates conveying a single gift, it has been gathered that the missing plates of the collection are the 2nd, 5th and 6th and also, one or more after the 7th, since the subject-matter in this last-mentioned plate is not complete[3]. But there are some difficulties militating against such an assumption. The verses on plates marked 1 and 7 are numbered while those on the plates marked 3 and 4 are not likewise numbered. Further, we have no clue in the plate marked 1 or in the other marked 7 to connect them, so far as their subject-matter is concerned, with the rest, *i.e.*, those numbered 3 and 4, which are however continuous and interconnected. From this we get the first

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 172. [The plates are now reported to be missing.—Ed.]

[2] Part ii, pp. 79-80. Mr. V. Apparao, who contributed an article on these plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.), observes that 'the rims of these plates are slightly raised'. Moreover, he gives the measurements of the plates differently. They measure, according to him, $11\frac{1}{2}$" by 5". The inclusion by him of the 7th plate among the missing is probably due to his failure to notice that the last of the set bears the number 7.

[3] [See below p. 48 n. 5.—Ed.]

impression that these four plates do not belong to one single set but are odd plates of different grants which have been accidentally found together. They may belong to more than one set, probably three, if we take the view that the plate marked 1 belongs to one set, those marked 3 and 4 to another and the one with No. 7 to a third[1].

However, this may not be the case and it is likely that they are all of one single set. Two factors are common to the plates. They are written in the same characters and style and contain the same variety of metres employed for the verses contained in them. The failure of the engraver to number the verses on the plates III and IV has probably to be attributed to his negligence, a tendency which has manifested itself even on the first plate. In the first plate, the first seven verses are correctly numbered; but the eighth verse bears the number 21, and the ninth has no number at all. This clearly indicates that the engraver has already abandoned the practice of numbering the verses. That may account for the absence of numerical figures to indicate the number of verses on plates III and IV. The seventh plate does not, however, admit of this explanation. As stated above, the verses on this plate are numbered; it opens with the 29th and closes with the 52nd verse. Why does the engraver revert again to the practice of numbering the verses, having abandoned it once before? A more important point which has to be taken notice of in this connection is the incompatibility of the figures attached to the verses with the number of the plate. It may be stated here that all the plates in this collection, contain 14 lines of writing except the last which has 15 lines on each of its two faces. Now, the first plate which is inscribed on only one side contains 9 verses. Taking roughly this to be the number of verses on each face of the remaining five plates, viz., II, III, IV, V and VI, they should have contained 90 verses on the whole. This, together with the 9 verses on the first plate, would come to 99 verses; and the seventh should have begun with the 100th verse and not the 29th. We have to assume that either the engraver for some unknown reason reverted to the plan of numbering the verses commencing again a fresh series somewhere about the middle of the inscription; or the plate under consideration belongs to a different set altogether. Neither of these alternatives is entirely free from difficulties. On the one hand, it is hard to believe that an engraver who had deliberately abandoned the scheme of enumeration had developed a fresh interest in it; and on the other the incompatibility of the number of the plate (viz., 7) with the numbers of the verses therein (viz., 29 to 52), still remains unexplained, even though we take the plate as belonging to another set for the sake of argument.

In conclusion we may leave the matter open for decision later on when the missing plates happen to be discovered, and, for the present, treat all the plates as belonging to one set since this does not lead to any complications.

Contents: The nine verses in the first plate are devoted to the invocation of several gods of the Hindu pantheon. The first three verses contain the praises of Sarasvatī; verse 4 is devoted to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, verse 5 to Gaṇēśa, verse 6 to the Sun and the Moon, verse 7 to Durgā Mahishāsura-mardinī, verse 8 to Kshētrapāla, and verse 9 to Śiva. The 36 unnumbered verses in plates III and IV describe the **genealogy** of the donor and the achievements of himself and his ancestors.

There was a king (his name is lost) who married **Annemāmbā**; and to them was born a king called **Ēṟuva Bhīma**. He married **Prōlāmbikā**; and their son was **Dāma** who married

[1] In support of this view, it may be stated that the first plate which measures 11·75″ by 4·9″ differs in its dimensions from the rest, each of which measures 11·9″ by 5·3″. These measurements are obtained from the impressions in my possession as the original which is unfortunately lost is no longer available.

Lakshmī. They begot **Sōma**, the husband of **Sūrāmbikā**, and from them was born **Gaṁgādhara**, the husband of **Irugāmbikā**, who bore the title of *Arigaṁḍaraganḍa* (a hero to hostile heroes). Gaṁgādhara and Irugāmbikā had a son, **Kāmarāja**, who, on account of his great devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva came to be popularly known as **Bhaktirāja**. Even in his youth Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, **Boggara** and other Yavana (Muhammadan) chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town of **Gulapūṁḍi**; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the **Gajapati** in battle at **Pañchadhāra**, he installed the **Koppula** chief on his throne. He also subdued king **Siṁha** near the town of **Bharaṇipāḍu** in a battle; vanquished with considerable prowess **Daburu-Khānu** and others with their *rākshasa* forces near **Pedakoṁḍapurī**; and, defeated, as if in mere sport, king Annavōta in the vicinity of the city of **Sūravara**. Bhaktīśvara married **Annemāmbā**, and founded a city called **Kalyāṇa** which became famous as **Kāmapurī**, the crest-jewel of the **Āndhra** country. The sound of the bells indicating the hours when worship was offered to god Śiva from the sunrise onwards entered the minds of the people walking along the streets of the city through the path of their ears and destroyed their sins. The learned men of the city became involved in discussion about the values of things by looking at musk and other valuable commodities exhibited for sale in the streets of the city.

Bhaktīśvara begot a son, the great **Annadēva** who surpassed Jayaṁta in beauty, and Mṛigāṁka (Moon) in brilliance, and who was as liberal as the tree of wish (*pārijāta*) in the distribution of gifts. Annadēva reduced, by the prowess of his arm, the hostile kings to the position of harlots.[1] Having gone to the help of the king of the **Turushkas** (the Muhammadans), he overcame with the sole help of his sword, the **Karnāṭa** army at **Sagara**; and like Śiva capturing the Tripurī he took **Jaggavāga** and (two ?) other cities from his enemies. Annadēva of the Chōḍa-kula fostered gods and Brāhmans with care, and having become endowed with all kinds of wealth (*aiśvarya*) by their favour, he was greatly devoted to the worship of god Viśvanātha.

Annadēva married **Irugāmbikā**, a sister of king **Piṁnuṁḍi**, and a daughter of **Chakravarti** of the solar family and had by her a son called **Vīrabhadra**. Annadēva defeated on the borders of **Attīli** all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and offered protection to 10,000 of the enemy's forces who took refuge within the walls of that city. For the purpose of protecting his friend, he performed a heroic sacrifice with Pinayuṇḍi-rāja as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of **Kāṁkaṇapartti** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī), making the **Kannaḍa** and other enemies the sacrificial victims. Being desirous only of fame, he offered protection to the family of **Kāṭaya-Vēma**, who bowed to his feet. While Annadēva was ruling the earth, people lived without trouble, sporting happily in the sugarcane fields and areca palm groves. The wealthy city of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, the crest-jewel of his country, was a resort of the merchants from all quarters.

King Annadēva worshipped Śiva six times a day waving innumerable lights at the lotus-feet of the god; he presented a thousand cows to the deity, and strictly observed the rule of feeding the Brāhmans daily. He built a beautiful gilded mansion of seven storeys ornamented with the gilded images of damsels bearing golden fan, fly-whisk, flag and an umbrella with pearl tassels. He fed everyday sumptuously Śaiva-Brāhmaṇas, ascetics and *yōgins*; made a gift called *Gōsahasra* to Brāhmans in the presence of the god Vīrabhadra of **Paṭṭesa**; and performed the *dāna* called *Saptasāgara* to quench their thirst, as it were. Having surpassed Paraśurāma by

[1] The significance of '*sēṭṭy-dvijasēvāyila-virōdhi-dharitalēndrā*' is not quite clear. [The idea seems to be that these kings were made to attend on various persons, probably at the Royal court, as the harlots have to entertain men without any choice on their part.—Ed.]

giving lands to Brāhmans along with the gift called the *Suvarṇa-Mēru*, Annadēva resembled Raghunāyaka. He caused the shrine of Vīrabhadra, the lord of **Gōmukhagiri**, and the pinnacle of the temple of Bhīmēśvara of **Drākshārāma**, the crest-jewel of the Āndhra country who had been worshipped by the former Chōḍa monarchs of his family, to be overlaid with gold. He also granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of **Kāśi**, the patron-deity of his family, and founded for the habitation of Brāhmans, a village called (after him) Uttama-Gaṇḍa-**Chōḍ-Annadēvavaram** in **Visaṛi-nāṇḍu** at the confluence of the rivers **Gaṁgā** and **Piṁnasāni**. Annadēva also gave to Brāhmans (*Mahājanas*) an *agrahāra* called **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṁgā near the western boundary of **Pallūri-Śailavaram**, and performed the marriages of several Brāhman couples.

The last or the seventh plate contains the names of donees who received *vṛittis* in a village, the name of which is lost. Of these, the following twenty-two received the *vṛittis* directly from the king, the donor:

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	No. of shares received.
1	Siṁgaya	Kūchanārya . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
2	Rāmachaṁdra . . .	Kōvūri Rāma . .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
3	Bhāskara . . .	Nṛihari	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	Kāchibhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
5	Aubhaḷēṁdra . . .	Gōḍaparti Vallabha . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
6	Varadaya	Viddhaya . . .	Ātrēya	1
7	Gaṁgādharēṁdra . .	Śrīrām-Āḍima (Peda) Siṁgaya.	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
8	Siṁgana	Gaurāya	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
9	Purushōttama . . .	Āditya	Hārīta	1
10	Tallaya	Chiṁnipi Kūchaya . .	Hārīta	1
11	Viśvēśvara . . .	Aṁnaṁa	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
12	Aṁnaṁa	Gōpāḷabhaṭṭa . .	Hārīta	1
13	Aṁnaya	Muṁjapi Gaṁgādhara .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
14	Lakshmaṇa . . .	Vallabha . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
15	Sādappula (Sādu Appaḷa ?) .	Vallabha . . .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
16	Duṁḍigaḍa Nāga . .	Nāgaya	Kāśyapa . . .	1
17	Mallikārjuna . . .	Rājukoṁḍa Mallaya .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
18	Maḍugūri Lakkaṇa . .		Bhāradvāja . . .	1
19	Śrīkṛishṇa	Kōḷaḷapaḷḷi Āḍima (Peda) Siṁgaya.	Kāśyapa . . .	1
20	Śrīrāma	Kaṁḍukūri Aubhaḷa .	Hārīta	1
21	Ananta	Śrīkṛishṇamayya . .	Śrīvatsa . . .	1
22	Aubhaḷa	Dēvaya	Bhāradvāja . . .	1

One of the twenty-two donees, (No. 1) Simgaya, son of Kūchanārya of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, is said to have been a friend of the king (*avanīpati-mitram*), probably the donor of the *agrahāra*. Besides the twenty-two donees enumerated above, there were two others who did not receive their shares directly from the original donor but from the other donees. The *Mahājanas*, *i.e.*, the Brāhmans who received shares in the *agrahāra*, granted one *vṛitti* to Janārdana, son of Sarvadēva of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra*, and another to the god Kēdāra-Mahēśvara who was set up with devotion by Mādhava, son of Kaljaya Kommarāja.

The inscription is important as it furnishes valuable **information about the history of the Ēṛuva branch of the Telugu Chōḍa family**. A few more records of the family including the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja,[1] have been published; but the historical information that could be gleaned from them is so meagre that little more than the names of the princes of a few generations is known. But the present grant gives a fairly full account of the part played by the members of the family in the affairs of their respective ages. Seven generations of the family, as noticed already, are described in this grant and the names mentioned in it agree, with some variations, with those furnished in the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja. The genealogical lists given in these two records are subjoined hereunder for the purpose of comparison :—

The Madras Museum Plates.

Karikāla

Nalla-Bhīma

Dāma *m.* Lakshmī

Sōma *m.* Sūrāmbikā

Gaṃgādhara *m.* Irugāmbā, *d.* of Kāmabhūpa of the Lunar race and a sister of Vēṃgabhūpati.

Bhaktirāja

Present Plates.

..... = Annemāmbā

Ēruva-Bhīma *m.* Prōlāmbikā

Dāma *m.* Lakshmī

Sōma *m.* Sūrāmbikā

Gaṃgādhara *m.* Irugāmbikā

Kāmarāja or Bhaktirāja *m.* Annemāmbā

Annadēva *m.* Irugāmbikā

Vīrabhadra

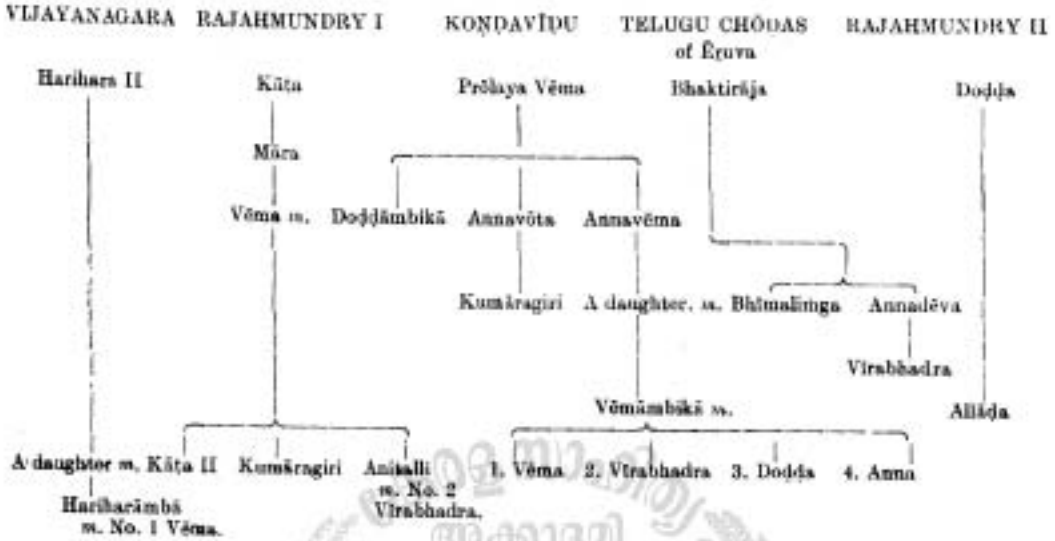
Five generations of the Ēṛuva Chiefs are mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, while the present charter, however, enumerates seven generations. The name of the father of Ēṛuva-Bhīma and the husband of Annemāmbā is not known, as it is lost with the second plate. Besides, it also includes Annadēva and Vīrabhadra, a son and grandson respectively of Bhaktirāja, not mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, thus making up a pedigree of seven generations. Though the names of the remaining members of the family are common to both the charters, there are certain variations which must be noticed. Nalla-Bhīma of the Madras Museum Plates is spoken of in the present charter as Ēṛuva-Bhīma. The difference is not material. Bhīma is the actual name of the prince and the terms 'Nalla' and 'Ēṛuva' appear to have been prefixed to it to indicate the complexion of his body and the principality over which he held sway respectively. Again the name Bhaktirāja is said to be a sobriquet, acquired by the prince on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Śiva, his real name being Kāmarāja. Lastly the present charter

[1] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

mentions the wives of all the chiefs of the family excepting Annadēva's son Vīrabhadra who was probably unmarried at the time, whereas the Madras Museum Plates refer to the names of the wives of only three. The differences between the two genealogical lists are not of much consequence; they may therefore be taken to be genuine accounts of the family pedigree.

While describing the military activity of Annadēva and his ancestors, the inscription incidentally reveals the political condition and the inter-state relations in South India during the 15th century A.D. It alludes to wars between the South Indian states in which the Ēruva chiefs were involved. A brief description of the political geography of these warring states is necessary for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this record. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were five major kingdoms besides a few independent or semi-independent principalities: (1) The largest and the most powerful of the kingdoms was no doubt the kingdom of Karnāṭa or Vijayanagara. It embraced the whole of South India south of the river Kṛishṇā, excluding the coastal strip comprising portions of the present Nellore, Guntur and Kistna Districts which formed an integral part of the independent kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. (2) The territory under the sway of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu extended along the east coast during the palmy days of their power, from Kandukūr in the Nellore District to the shores of the Chilka lake in the north; but by the beginning of the 15th century it fell into two independent subdivisions generally hostile to each other. The southern half was governed from Koṇḍavīḍu, the original capital, whereas the city of Rajahmundry became the capital of the northern kingdom. (3) On the north of the Reḍḍi kingdom lay the dominions of the Gajapatis of Orissa, who, on account of their ancient connection with Southern Kaliṅga (Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the East Godavari Districts), were vitally interested in the affairs of the Reḍḍi kingdom. (4) To the west of the Reḍḍi, the south-west of the Gajapati, and the north of the Vijayanagara territories lay the Velama kingdom of Telingāṇa with the ancient city of Warangal as its capital, and the forts of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa as its main strongholds. Despite the encroachments of the Bahmanī Sultans who had succeeded in annexing a considerable slice of the kingdom including the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa, the Velamas still held sway over an extensive dominion comprising Nalgoṇḍa, Mahbūbnagar, Warangal, Medak, Adilābād, and Karimnagar Districts of the present Hyderabad state. (5) On the west of Telingāṇa and the north of Karṇāṭa extended the territory of the Bahmanī Sultans comprising the whole of the south-western Deccan from Gōlkoṇḍa in Telingāṇa to the shores of the Arabian sea in the west. Within these major kingdoms, especially in the dominions subjected to the authority of the Reḍḍis, there flourished several small principalities whose loyalty and submissiveness were conditioned by the capacity of the paramount power to exact obedience. Three such principalities deserve notice in this connection: (1) Ēruva, a small principality on the borders of the Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur Districts of the Madras Presidency, was the seat of one of the numerous branches of the Telugu Chōḍa family, of which Annadēva, the donor of the present grant, and his father Bhaktīśvara were distinguished members. (2) Kōrukoṇḍa, a hill-fort in the Gōdāvarī valley at a distance of about nine miles to the north of Rajahmundry was the capital of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs who ruled over a small territory comprising the districts of Pāṇūra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, and Cheṅgaru. (3) The coastal strip from the banks of the Gautamī to Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District was originally under the Koppula chiefs who had Piṭhāpuram in the East Godavari District, as their capital, but with the advent of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs, their authority in the Gōdāvarī valley came to an end; and they were obliged to retire eastwards into the hilly region in the western part of the present Vizagapatam District, where they appear to have been ruling at the time of Bhaktirāja's victory at Pañchadhāra.

As the ruling families of several of the states mentioned above were connected by marriage alliances which influenced the course of events described in the present record, a chart showing their inter-relationship is given below :—



Of the Ēṟuva chiefs mentioned in this charter, only three *viz.*, Ēṟuva-Bhīma, Bhaktirāja and Annadēva, deserve any notice here.

1. **Ēṟuva Bhīma** has been identified with a certain Mailama-Bhīma, a chief of unknown origin, whose military exploits are recounted in a few Telugu *Ch̄āṭu* verses,[1] but this identification is not beyond question. It is pointed out that the mother of Mailama-Bhīma, as indicated by the name itself, was Mailama, whereas it is definitely stated in the present inscription that the name of Ēṟuva Bhīma's mother was Annemāmbā. These two persons, therefore, could not have been identical[2]. Apart from the literary reference, there is an epigraph assignable to the middle of the 13th century at Tāḷḷa-Proḍḍuṭūr in the Cuddapah District which gives some definite information about the activities of Ēṟuva-Bhīma.[3] This epigraph which consists of a single verse in the *Utpala-mālā* metre, states that Viṣaṟa-nāṇḍu, Chakraghoṭṭa, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthena, Vēṅgi, Kaliṅga and other countries were ruined by an invasion of Ēṟuva-Bhīma. The circumstances in which he had undertaken this expedition are not known. It may be remembered that Bhīma was but the chief of a small principality, and with his limited resources he could not have by himself embarked on a prolonged military campaign, and successfully penetrated to Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. He must have had a powerful ally, whom he might have actually assisted in subjugating the places mentioned in the Tāḷḷa-Proḍḍuṭūr epigraph. To discover who this ally was, the age in which Bhīma himself lived must be ascertained at first. Bhaktirāja, the fifth in descent from Bhīma, made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu or Kaḍavakolanu on Monday the 7th November A.D. 1356 to a bachelor called Viśvanātha at Śrīśaila.[4]

[1] V. Prabhakara Sastri—*Ch̄āṭupadyu-mauktikamu-jari*, ii, p. 58.

[2] T. N. Ramachandran—*J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 132. V. Apparao believes that Mailama-Bhīma was also known as Ēṟuva-Bhīma. How this could have been possible, he does not, however, explain (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6).

[3] No. 308 of 1935-6 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; published in *Bhārati* Vol. XV, p. 158.

[4] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 334.

Taking this year to be the first year of his reign and allowing a duration of 25 years for each generation, we get 1356—(4×25)=A.D. 1256 as the approximate date of the commencement of Bhīma's reign. The whole of the Telugu country including the principality of Ṛṇuva acknowledged the supremacy of the Kākatīyas at this period. As a matter of fact the officers of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati were engaged in reducing Vēṅgi and Kaḷiṅga[1]; and it is not unlikely that they might have subdued portions of the Central Provinces including Chakraghoṭṭa. Therefore it is not improbable that Bhīma, who from all accounts appears to have been a distinguished warrior, followed the Kākatīya armies and contributed much to their success.

2. **Bhaktirāja** also was a great warrior. The present inscription gives a full account of his achievements. He is said to have waged war successfully with several chiefs.

i. While he was still a youth, Bhaktirāja defeated Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in a battle in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi.

ii. He defeated in the east the Gajapati near Pañchadhāra, and installed the Koppula chief on his throne.

iii. Near the city of Bharaṇipāḍu, he defeated the famous warrior Siṅga.

iv. In the vicinity of Peḍakoṇḍapuri he overthrew the demoniac armies of Daburu-Khānu and others.

v. He overcame Annavōta in a battle near the town of Sūravara.

These achievements of Bhaktirāja must be assigned to a period subsequent to A.D. 1356, the year in which he granted the village Kaḍavakolanu to the Śaiva ascetic Viśvēśvara of Śrīparvata; for, in the charter recording this grant, though his valour is praised in general terms, no specific mention is made of any enemy whom he had overthrown in battle. It is unlikely that the author of the *praśasti* would have failed to mention his victories, had he any to his credit at that time. Moreover, the earliest known record of his son and successor Annadēva is dated in Śaka 1310, Vibhava, *i.e.*, A.D. 1388-89.[2] Bhaktirāja's reign may be taken to have terminated some time before that year. He probably ascended the throne in A.D. 1356 itself; and it is not probable that he could have won any notable victory so early in his reign.

i. *Victory over Boggara* :—According to the present Rajahmundry Museum Plates, **his victory over the Muhammadans under Boggara** and others was won while he was yet a youth. This clearly indicates that he was a young man at the time of his accession to his ancestral throne, and harmonizes well with the comparatively long period suggested for his reign by the inscriptions mentioned above. Boggara is a Sanskrit corruption of Bughra, a name common enough among the Mussalmans of the 14th century A. D. It is not possible, however, to identify the bearer of this name in the present context. Nor is it possible to fix the locality where the encounter took place. Gulapūṇḍi is no doubt the same as Gollapūḍi; but as several villages in the Telugu country go by that name, no definite conclusions can be reached about its identity.[3] It may, however, be remembered in this connection that this was Bhaktirāja's first victory, won by him while he was still a youth. As he was a scion of the Ṛṇuva family and as his only known inscription records the gift of a village to a religious teacher residing at Śrīparvata, it may be reasonably assumed that Gulapūṇḍi where he defeated Bughra Khān was situated somewhere in the southern Telugu country.

[1] *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 3, ii. p. 16, Upparapalli Inscription of the reign of Gaṇapatidēva.—Cf. M. Somaśēkhara Śarma, Kākatīyas and Kaḷiṅga, *Kaḷiṅga-Saṁchika*, p. 381.

[2] No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] A village called Gollapūḍi is found in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District; another in the Bezwada taluk and a third in the Nuzvid division of the Kistna District.

ii. *Victory over the Gajapati king*:—Bhaktirāja's second victory was won over the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra in the Vizagapatam District. As this victory is said to have led to the installation of the Koppula chief on his throne, it is reasonable to infer that the Koppula chief, whose territory extended up to Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District, was expelled from his country by the Gajapati and that Bhaktirāja assisted the dispossessed chief to win back his dominions. It may be pointed out here that the Koppula chiefs were ousted, as mentioned already, from the Gōdāvarī Valley by Mañchikoṇḍa Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers (*Madras Epigraphical Report* 1911-12, Part II, para. 68, and above, Vol. XIV, p. 96) and the attack of the Gajapati on their dominions appears to have been somehow connected with the invasion of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs. The Gajapati seems to have attacked the Koppulas either in concert with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka or on his own account, taking advantage of the confusion caused in their dominions by the Mañchikoṇḍa invasion. The Gajapati whom Bhaktirāja defeated at Pañchadhāra must have been Vīra-Bhānudēva (? A.D. 1350 to 1378), son and successor of Narasiṁha III; and the Koppula chief on whose behalf he waged war upon the Gajapati was probably Kāpaya II or one of his cousins.[1] Bhaktirāja, it may be recollected, was the ruler of a minor principality in the southern Telugu country; and his strength and resources must have been limited. The circumstances under which he managed not only to wage war successfully on the Gajapati, the powerful king of Kaliṅga, but also to restore, in the teeth of his opposition, the Koppula chief to his ancestral dominions are not even hinted at.

To understand the political situation under which these events came to pass, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of the east coast of the Telugu country during the years that immediately succeeded the fall of the Kākatīya monarchy. The Muslim rule, if it had ever been effectively established, lasted only a short while. The actual administration of the country remained in the hands of the Hindus. The country was partitioned among a host of petty kings, seventy-five in number, according to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli dated A.D. 1423[2]; and they, having united together under the leadership

[1] The Dōnepūḍi grant of Nāmaya-Nāyaka of A.D. 1338 (above, Vol. IV, p. 356) and the Simhāchalam inscription of his son Prōla II, dated A.D. 1388 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 822) which give the genealogical account of the Koppula family yield the following pedigree:

Kāpa of the Koppula family
|
Prōlaya I
|
Nāmaya
(A.D. 1337 to 1379, above, Vol. IV, p. 356; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 924).
|
Prōlaya II
(? A.D. 1388).

The date of the latter inscription is unfortunately partially effaced. The last two figures preserved in the chronogram; '*khēndu*' *i.e.*, '10' (*ibid.*, l. 9) enable us to restore the date completely. It is said that Prōla II, the donor of the inscription under consideration, was the son of Nāmaya, grandson of Prōla I and great-grandson of Kāpaya. Nāmaya mentioned in this record is identical with the donor of the Dōnepūḍi grant dated Ś. 1259. He also figures as the donor of another epigraph at Simhāchalam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 924) dated Ś. 1291. His son Prōlaya could not have been living in Ś. 1210. Since the latest of Nāmaya's inscriptions is dated in Ś. 1291, the first two figures of the date of Prōlaya II in the inscription must be 13. It is therefore obvious that the date of the inscription in question is Ś. 1310 (= A.D. 1388).

Besides the chiefs mentioned in the above pedigree, Koppula-Pōli Nāyaṇḍu, evidently an earlier member of the family who flourished about A.D. 1200 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 765), and a certain Koppula Kāpaya-Nāyaka (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 821) who lived about A.D. 1360 are referred to in the inscriptions. Their position in the family pedigree cannot be ascertained at present.

[2] *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 107.

of a certain Prōlaya-Nāyaka, expelled the Muhammadans and re-established the Hindu independence. Prōlaya was succeeded by Kāpaya, and after the demise of the latter the petty chiefs asserted their independence; but soon the stronger subdued their weaker neighbours and laid the foundations of powerful kingdoms. One of these was the Reḍḍi chief Prōlaya-Vēma, the ruler of Addanki, in the southern fringe of the present Guntur District. He welded together the small states in the coastal region to the south of the Kṛishṇā into a strong kingdom, and extended his territory further by bringing the whole of the east coast as far as the frontier of Orissa under his sway. His victories on the east coast are detailed in a copper-plate charter dated in A.D. 1336, where, among other things, it is said that he crushed the honour of Kaḷiṅgarāya, burnt the abode of Oḍḍiyarāya and confounded the Rāya of Janturnāḍu, sported in the waters of Kuṇḍiprabhā (the Guṇḍlakamma), Sahyajā (the Kṛishṇā) and Gautamī (the Gōdāvarī), and that he granted many *agrahāras* to the Brāhmans, and established *satras* (feeding houses) in the country lying on both the banks of as well as in between the rivers Brahmakuṇḍi (the Guṇḍlakamma), Kṛishṇavēṇi, Gōdāvari and Mahānadi[1]. It is obvious that Vēma's military activity extended over the whole east coast from the river Guṇḍlakamma in the south to Cuttack on the banks of the Mahānadī in the north. He does not, however, appear to have retained all his northern conquests; and his authority in the north of the Gōdāvarī did not perhaps long outlast the period of conquest, for the Gajapati seems to have soon reasserted his power and recovered the country as far as the Gōdāvarī, as is covertly alluded to in the charter under consideration. Moreover, an epigraph at Pañchadhārala in the Vizagapatam District dated A.D. 1403, suggests that Chōḍa II, the grandfather of the Kōma-Haihaya chief Chōḍa III, who must have lived about the middle of the 14th century A.D., was an ally, if not actually a subordinate of the Gajapati[2]. Chōḍa II probably ousted the Koppula family from its hereditary possessions with the help of the Gajapati; and the dispossessed member turned for help to Annavōta, who, by this time, had succeeded his father Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. As a matter of fact, Annavōta's presence in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at a striking distance from the southern frontier of Kaḷiṅga about this time is testified to by an inscription at Drākshārāma of A.D. 1357.[3] Moreover, in one of Annavēma's early records dated A.D. 1371 it is stated that Annavōta overthrew his enemies from the Kṛishṇā to the Gōdāvarī, thence as far as the Vindhyas.[4] There is thus sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that Annavōta had marched with his army against the Gajapati about A.D. 1357 to drive him back and restore the Koppula chief to his throne; and Bhaktirāja, who must have been a subordinate of Annavōta at that time, had accompanied him and distinguished himself in the campaign. If what is said above is not unreasonable, it may be stated that the battle of Pañchadhāra mentioned in this charter appears to have been a decisive engagement, which finally brought the campaign to a close.

iii. *Victory at Bharaṇipāḍu* :—Bhaktirāja is said to have **vanquished** a king called **Siṅga** in the vicinity of the city of Bharaṇipāḍu[5]. This king still remains unidentified. There were at

[1] No. 5 of 1919-20, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 267 ff.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 657.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1387.

[4] *Andhrapatrika* (*Annual Number* 1922, p. 168).

Jitvā ārīṃ-Avapōta-bhāṭalapatir=cīrāṃ=urūṃīn balād=
ā Kṛishṇā-taṭa-taṭād=bhavanam=apy=ā Gautamī-srōtasaḥ |
ā Vindhyād=iti yatnakarvindra-vachōnam yasy=āpadāna-stutau
prajyōdam pratipakshe-dēśa-jayinas=tatpūrvapakshāpitam ||

[5] In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle) for 1911-12, Part ii, p. 80, it is said that Bhaktirāja killed a king called Siṅga close to the town of Bharaṇipāḍu. This is not quite accurate as the text of the inscription has *upasaishīt* meaning only 'vanquished'.

this time two kings of this name. One of them was the Velama ruler of Rāchakoṇḍa in the present Nalgonda District of the Nizam's State, who was assassinated at the siege of Jallipalli in Śaka 1283, Śārvari, (A.D. 1361-62) by Tambaḷa Bommajiyya[1]; the other was a brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka, the ruler of Kōrukoṇḍa in the neighbourhood of Rājahmundry. According to the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358-59, Mummaḍi-Nāyaka who conquered 'the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Cheṅgara and others lying on either bank of the river Gōdāvarī, allowed his younger brother Siṅgaya' to govern the principality of Kōṭyapurī.[2] Now, the king Siṅga whom Bhaktirāja vanquished must have been one of these two chiefs. It may be noted that most of Bhaktirāja's activities were confined to the valley of the Gōdāvarī, and he does not appear to have had any connection with Teliṅgāṇa where Siṅga of Rāchakoṇḍa was ruling. Moreover, the *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi*[3] which enumerates the enemies of the Velama king does not mention Bhaktirāja among his foes. Therefore, it is unlikely that he should have come into conflict with Bhaktirāja. There is, on the other hand, much presumptive evidence for believing that Siṅga mentioned in the present charter is identical with Siṅga, one of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka's younger brothers. It may be noted that Mummaḍi who conquered the territory on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī entrusted the government of Kōṭyapurī and Tāḍipāka to his younger brothers Siṅga and Ganna respectively. Kōṭyapurī[4] is identical with Koṭṭhām in the Tuni division and Tāḍipāka with Tāṭipāka in the Razole taluk of the East Godavari District. This territory originally belonged to the Koppula chiefs. According to the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1338, Koppula Nāmaya-Nāyaka was ruling at that time 'the *Āndhrakhaṇḍa-maṇḍala*' 'extending from the banks of the Gautamī river (*i.e.*, the Gōdāvarī) to Kaliṅga' with the city of Piṭhāpurī as his capital.[5] Now, in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka dated A.D. 1358, it is stated, as noted already, that he conquered the country on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī. It follows from this that Mummaḍi-Nāyaka wrested this territory from Nāmaya-Nāyaka between A.D. 1338 and 1358. As Mummaḍi married a niece of the famous Āndhra-Surātrāṇa Kāpaya-Nāyaka, a fact which is particularly mentioned in the records of Mummaḍi and his brothers,[6] it is not unlikely that he should have received the help of his powerful relative in effecting the conquest. If Bhaktirāja, as stated in the present grant, had restored the Koppula chief to his kingdom, he could not have accomplished the task without coming into conflict with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers. Therefore the Siṅga who sustained a defeat at Bharaṇipāḍu at the hands of Bhaktirāja has to be identified with Siṅga, the younger brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka of the Kōrukoṇḍa family.

iv. *The victory at Pedakoṇḍa* :—The town Pedakoṇḍa, where Bhaktirāja won a victory over the Muhammadans under **Daburu-Khānu**, is identical with Pedakoṇḍa in the Bhadrachalam taluk of the East Godavari District. The original form of Daburu-Khānu which is but a Telugu corruption of the name of the chief, cannot be definitely restored, as it may stand for Dabīr Khān or Zafar Khān. In any case, his identity cannot be established with certainty, though it may be surmised that he must have been connected with one of the Muslim sovereigns who invaded Tilang at this time.

[1] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, p. 23.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 96.

[3] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, pp. 17-18.

[4] K. Rama Sastri and T. A. Gopinatha Rao have suggested different identifications for Kōṭyapurī. The former identifies it with Kōṭipalli on the Vṛiddha-Gautamī (above, Vol. XIII, p. 261); and the latter with a place called Kōṭi in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 89).

[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 371.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 272; Vol. XIV, p. 95.

The Delhi Sultan, Fīrūz Tughluq made an attack upon Jājnagar in 761 A.H. (October-November, A.D. 1360); he marched upon the city of Banārasi (Cuttack), the capital of the Gajapati. On the approach of Fīrūz, the Gajapati, Vīra-Bhānudēva II, crossed the Mahānadī and retreated towards Tilang. The Sultan pursued him for a day, but giving up the pursuit busied himself in the neighbourhood.[1] Though the Sultan himself abandoned the pursuit, he might have entrusted the task to Zafar Khān, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnautī, who appears to have accompanied him during the expedition. It is not unlikely that this Muslim chief should have advanced as far as the Gōdāvarī where he might have been opposed at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja and repulsed. This is one possibility. The other is that Bhaktirāja might have come into conflict with the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan, and won a victory over them near Pedakoṇḍa. The Bahmanī armies invaded Tilang during the period of Bhaktirāja's rule on two occasions, once during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan and then again in the time of his son and successor Muḥammad Shāh I. As the second invasion did not proceed beyond Fīlampaṭan or Vēlampaṭan, a place which is said to have been at a distance of eight days' journey from Kalyan,[2] the army could not have reached Pedakoṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Ghats. But the invasion which was led by 'Alā-ud-dīn himself in person in A.D. 1357, appears to have swept over the whole of Tilang. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of the invasion in his *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.

> "After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he (the Sultan) was again desirous of conquering the country of Tilang.....For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Telingāna, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonāgīr, he overthrew the idol-temples and instead of them built mosques and public schools."[3]

Sayyid 'Ali's account is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of Pillalamarri near Warangal which may belong to A.D. 1357 records that the temple of Erukēśvaradēva which was destroyed by Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn was rebuilt by a certain Eṛapōtu Lenka, a servant of Kāpaya-Nāyaka, the lord of the Āndhra country.[4] The invasion did not stop with Bhōnāgīr but spread south-eastwards towards the sea, and reached Dharaṇikōṭa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. An epigraph in the temple of Amarēśvara at Amarāvatī in the Guntur District dated 22nd July A.D. 1361, describes how Kētaya Vēma, an officer of king Anavōta of Koṇḍavīḍu, repulsed the Muslim cavalry and re-installed the image of Amarēśvara, which had evidently been destroyed by the invaders.[5] Kētaya was assisted in the battle by Malla, one of king Anavōta's paternal uncles. In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Śivaliṅga Reḍḍi, a descendant of Malla, dated A.D. 1413, it is said that Malla defeated 'Alā-ud-dīn and other Turushka warriors.[6] Therefore, the Bahmanī invasion was checked by the Reḍḍis at Dharaṇikōṭa and turned back. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in other parts of Tilang are not known, he appears to have reduced the country from Bhōnāgīr to the banks of the river Gōdāvarī to subjection. 'His dominions', according to Sayyid 'Ali, 'extended from the east side of Daulatābād to Bhōnāgīr and the river Gōdāvarī both north and south sides—to

[1] The *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (G. O. S. LXIII), pp. 135-36.
[2] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 303.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152.
[4] *Telingāna Inscriptions*, p. 163.
[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 226.
[6] *Local Records*, Vol. III, p. 469.

Vēmādhipasy=āvarajō='pi Malla-
Bhūvallabhō='nau jagan-obba-gandaḥ |
Allāvadīn-ādi-Turushka-vallān
samallasod-bhalla-gaṇān vijitya ||

the river Ganga'.[1] An officer who probably bore the name of Dabīr or Zafar Khān and who was in the service of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn might have attempted to cross the Ghats through the valley of the Gōdāvarī and found his path barred at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja, who having inflicted a defeat on his forces, had compelled him to retreat.

v. *Victory at Sūravaram* :—The last military achievement attributed to Bhaktirāja in these plates is a victory which he is said to have won over a certain king called **Annavōta** at Sūravaram. The identity of this king cannot be definitely established, as there were two contemporaries of Bhaktirāja who bore this name. One of them was the Reḍḍi ruler, Anavōta, the son of Prōlaya Vēma, who has been already mentioned in an earlier context. The other was Anavōta, the son of Rāvu Siṅga, the king of Rāchakoṇḍa in Tilang. Which of these two was the king who sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja on the battlefield of Sūravaram cannot be determined at present with certainty.[2] We may, however, attempt to solve the problem by ascertaining the location of Sūravaram, the site of the battle, which may perhaps throw some light on the subject. The place, however, cannot be identified definitely. Several villages of the name of Sūravaram or Sūrapuram are mentioned in the *Postal Directory* and the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*.

Village.	Taluk or Division.	District.
1. Sūravaram	Chicacole	Ganjam.
2. Sūravaram	Palakonda	Vizagapatam.
3. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam . . .	E. Godavari.
4. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam . . .	E. Godavari.
5. Sūravaram-Annavaram . . .	Tuni	E. Godavari.
6. Sūravaram	Nuzvid	Kistna.
7. Sūrapuram	Nidadavole	W. Godavari.

Assuming that all these villages were in existence during the period under consideration, it is difficult to discover which of these was actually the site of the battle. Of these, Sūravaram in the Chicacole taluk of the Ganjam District may be excluded from the present discussion, as it lay outside the Reḍḍi dominions. All the other villages must have been included in the Reḍḍi kingdom, as they are situated in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. It is interesting to note

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152. The description of the boundaries given here is rather vague; and the translation agrees with the original text closely. In the published Persian text, the passage describing the boundaries runs as follows:

بالجمله سلطان را درين مدت اكثر بلاد و قلاع ملک دكن در قبضه اقتدار و ضبط بندگان درگاه گيتي پناه در آمد - چانچه از جانب شرق دولت آباد تا بهونگير و آب گوداوري جانب شمال و جانب جنوب تا آب گنگ . . . بود -

(*Tarikh-i-Backān-i-Mu'ajjir*, p. 28). It is rather difficult to understand how the Gōdāvarī could have formed the boundary of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn's territory both on the north and the south. The idea which the author wanted to convey was probably that 'Alā-ud-dīn's dominions extended from Bhōnāgīr to the Gōdāvarī and also from Gōdāvarī to (Pen) Gaṅgā.

[2] Mr. T. N. Ramachandran asserts that the identity of Anavōta, who was defeated at Sūravaram, 'becomes clear from the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma dated Śaka 1300' (*J. O. R.*, 1931, p. 133.). It is true that the inscription in question mentions the Reḍḍi king Anavōta, but does not offer any clue which may lead to the identification of Bhaktirāja's enemy. The Vānapalli plates, as a matter of fact, have no bearing on the present problem.

that no village of the name of Sūravaram is found in Tilang, as far as it can be ascertained from the available records. Nor is there any evidence to show that Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa had ever led an expedition to the coastal region. Taking all these facts into consideration, the probability appears to be that the person who suffered defeat at Sūravaram was not Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, but the Reḍḍi ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu of that name. Another fact which lends support to this view must be noticed in this connection. During the latter part of the reign of Anavōta there was a widespread rebellion against his authority in the northern part of his kingdom, and he lost control over the territory beyond the Kṛishṇā.[1] Though the incidents of this rebellion are not yet fully known, the total absence of the Reḍḍi inscriptions between A.D. 1363 and 1371 seems to indicate that the power of the Reḍḍis suffered an eclipse. The attack on Dharaṇikōṭa by Māda, the younger brother of Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, and the defeat of Anavōta-Reḍḍi in battle and his flight must also be assigned to this period.[2] Taking advantage of the troubles that had beset his overlord, Bhaktirāja appears to have joined the rebels, and asserted his independence. Anavōta appears to have made an attempt to put down the rebellion and reassert his authority. The rebel forces, however, proved too much for his strength and he sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja.

Two more facts are mentioned in the present inscription about Bhaktirāja. (1) He laid the foundations of a new city which he called after his own name **Kāmapurī**; and it seems to have been made **the capital of his principality**. The situation of Kāmapurī is not definitely known, as no village of that name is found at present in the east coast of the Telugu country. There are, however, two villages bearing the name of Kāmavaram which is generally believed to be a corruption of Kāmapuram. One of them is now a deserted village in the Ellavaram division of the East Godavari District; and the other is situated in the Vizianagaram taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Besides these villages there is a Kāmavarapupāḍu in the Ellavaram division, and a Kāmavarapukōṭa, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. Mr. V. Apparao believes that the latter is identical with the town founded by Bhaktirāja.[3] (2) He also **married Annemāmbā** by whom he had a son called Annadēva. Bhaktirāja had according to Niśśaṅku Kommana, a contemporary writer, another son called Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,[4] of whom nothing is said in this inscription. This has probably to be attributed to the want of cordiality between the brothers, the causes of which will be explained presently.

[1] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59. This record (No. 20 of 1915) which was set up at Śrīśailam in A.D. 1377 by an officer of Koṇḍavīḍu refers to certain events which seem to have taken place before Anavēma's accession. It is said that Anavēma destroyed a number of forts both on land and in the water (*sthala-durga* and *jala-durga*) in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. This region was, according to Erṟā Preggaḍa's *Harivaṁśa* under the sway of Prōlaya Vēma (*Harivaṁśa*, part ii, 2 : 1 : 4 : 1); and it was included in the dominions subjected to the authority of Anavōta until A.D. 1357, as shown by the Drākshārāmam epigraph cited above. There would have been no occasion for Anavēma to conquer, much less to destroy the *sthala-durgas* and *jala-durgas* in the deltas of the Krishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, had there been no rebellion in this region. Anavēma's authority was recognized in the Gōdāvarī valley from the very beginning of his reign, as shown by his inscriptions (above, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 785; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 115; above, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.; No. 446 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection). Therefore, the rebellion referred to above must have broken out before Anavēma's accession. Probably Anavēma himself was benefited by the rebellion; for, in the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above, Anavēma is said to have been the lord chosen by the damsel of sovereignty in a *svayaṁvara* (*rājya-ramā-ramaṇī-svayaṁvara-labdha-nāyaka*). This is a covert statement which alludes to the illegal assumption of sovereignty by Anavēma, setting aside his nephew Kumāragiri, the rightful heir to the throne. Anavōta probably died unexpectedly while the rebels were still at large; and taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, Anavēma seized the throne ignoring the claims of his young nephew.

[2] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, vv. 80, 81.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

[4] Niśśaṅku Kommana : *Śivalīlāvilāsa*. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 241 (see note 1 on p. 29 below).

How long Bhaktirāja continued to rule his principality after the events described above is not quite clear. According to an epigraph summarised by the Mackenzie Surveyors, his son and successor Annadēva was crowned in the city of R(K?)āmavaram on Āsvija, su. 10, of the year Parābhava corresponding to Śaka 1259.[1] The date is unfortunately irregular. The Śaka and the cyclic years do not agree. The cyclic year Parābhava does not coincide with Śaka 1259 but with Śaka 1289. As the Śaka year given in the record yields a date far too early for the coronation of Annadēva, it must be rejected as inaccurate. If, on the other hand, the cyclic year is taken to be correct, Annadēva's coronation may be said to have taken place in A.D. 1366. Much however cannot be built on the basis of the information furnished by this inaccurately dated record especially as the original is not available for our examination. The earliest genuine record of Annadēva is a short epigraph dated Śaka 1310, Vibhava (A.D. 1388); and it registers the gift of Kāñchanapalle to the temple of Śiva at Tripurāntakam in the Markapur taluk of the Kurnool District.[2] He seems to have passed under a cloud during the next sixteen years; and when at the end of this period he emerges into light again, he is found ruling with full titles of sovereignty in the neighbourhood of Drākshārāmam.[3] There is reason to believe that he was in exile, for, in the first place, the provenance of the inscriptions of Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi who ascended the throne in or about A.D. 1382 clearly shows that the lower Gōdāvarī valley wherein lay the family estates of Annadēva was included in the Reḍḍi kingdom.[4] The Komāragirivaram grant dated A.D. 1408-09 clearly states that Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi bestowed on Kāṭaya-Vēma the Eastern kingdom with Rājamahēndranagara as its headquarters.[5] It is obvious that the lower Gōdāvarī valley was under the control of Kumāragiri at the time of his death which took place in or about A.D. 1404. Moreover, in the Anaparti grant dated A.D. 1390, it is said that the east coast up to Simhādri (*i.e.*, Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District) acknowledged Kumāragiri's rule; and that he, being desirous of bequeathing to his young son, Anavōta II, a larger kingdom than he possessed, planned the conquest of fresh territories extending to the east of that hill.[6] Secondly Vēdagiri I, the Velama king of Dēvarakoṇḍa in Telingāṇa (Nalgonda District of the Hyderabad State), a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is said to have offered protection to Annadēva.[7] It follows from these facts that Annadēva was living abroad owing to the occupation of his territories by the Reḍḍi kings.

The circumstances which led to the displacement of Annadēva may now be envisaged briefly. Anavēma who seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu on the death of his elder brother, planned an expedition against the rebels in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, and brought them soon under control. According to the Śrīśailam epigraph cited above, Anavēma "demolished the *jala-durga* of Divi (Kistna District) and captured all the *jala-durgas* at the confluence of the Gautamī (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī) and the sea, broke open the *sthala-durgas* of Rājamahēndra, Niravadyanagara (Nidadavole in the West Godavari District) and others; and planted pillars proclaiming his glory at the foot of the Simhāchalam and the Vindhyas".[8] Anavēma seems to have made use of force as well as diplomacy in re-establishing his authority. He crippled the strength of the Telugu Chōḍas who were a formidable obstacle in his path, by creating dissensions among the members

[1] *Mac. Mss.* 15-4-4, pp. 231 ff. The epigraph in question is said to have been engraved on a slab lying outside the postern (*diḍḍi gummam*) gate of the fort of Rajahmundry. Its present whereabouts are not known.

[2] No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 421 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 7, 155; above, Vol. IV, pp. 328-9.

[5] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 210.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 203-4.

[7] The *Velugōtivāri-vamśāvali*, 122.

[8] No. 20 of 1915; *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 50.

of the family. Bhaktirāja was probably dead by this time; and differences seem to have arisen between his sons regarding succession. Taking advantage of this, Anavēma entered into an alliance with his son Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga, and secured his support and loyalty permanently by bestowing on him the hand of his daughter in marriage.[1] Annadēva must have felt helpless against this combination, and sought refuge in his ancestral estate of Eṛuva, where he seems to have kept up a precarious existence up to 1388 A.D. The expansion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the east seems to have ousted him even from this place of refuge, and he became a wanderer seeking his fortunes in the courts of the Deccan. This accounts for the inveterate hostility which he displayed in later life towards the Reḍḍis and their allies, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

3. **The first achievement of Annadēva** that is described in these plates is the assistance which he rendered to the Turushka king in **defeating the king of the Karṇāṭa at Sagara**. This statement clearly indicates that Annadēva entered into an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan. The Karṇāṭa army that is mentioned in the inscription is the army of Vijayanagara; and Sagara is a city of that name on the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Gulburga District of the Nizam's Dominions. It stood on the frontier between Gulburga and Vijayanagara, and constantly figured in the wars between the two kingdoms. It follows from this that the Turushka king who was engaged in fighting with the Karṇāṭaka army was the Bahmanī Sultan. Now between A.D. 1388, the date of Annadēva's Tripurāntakam record, and A.D. 1416 when he appears to have died,[2]

[1] The marriage of Bhīmaliṅga with the daughter of king Anavēma is referred to by contemporary Telugu writers. According to Niśaṅku Kommana, Allāḍa married Vēmāmbikā, the daughter of Bhīmaliṅga who was the son of Chōḷa-Bhakti-kshitīśvara:—

Ma: Bharita-śrīnidhi-yam-mahīramaṇuḍ=appeñ=Jōḷa-Bhakti-kshitī-śvara-sūnuḍ-agu Bhīmaliṅga-nanujēśu-śrēshṭhu sat-putri bhā-svara-kāruṇya-dashā-jan-āyana-vidhā-saṁdhātri Vēmāmbikan variyiñchen=bali-bhakti-gauruva-driḍha-vyāpāru-sēvy-āmbikan ||

(*Śivalīlāvilāsam*, canto I.) Śrīnātha states that Vēmāmbikā was a grand-daughter (*i.e.*, daughter's daughter) of king Anavēma of Koṇḍavīḍu:—

Ma: Anavēma-kshitipālu-pautri-gaṇu Vēmāmbā-Mahādēvikin ghanuḍ=ayy-Allaya-bhūmi-paluraku samgrāma-sīhāli-gāmdīrul tanayul=Vēma-vibhuṇḍa Vīra-vasuḍā-ādhyakshuṇḍa Dodda-prabhuṇ-ḍanun=Annagaṇya bāku-vikrama-kul-āṭōpa-pratāp-āḍḍhulul || (*Kāśikhaṇḍamu*, canto I, v. 32).

It is obvious that Vēmāmbā's parents were Bhīmaliṅga, the son of Chōḷa Bhaktīśvara and an unnamed daughter of king Anavēma.

Chōḷa Bhaktīśvara — Anavēma

Bhīmaliṅga m. — daughter

Vēmāmbikā m. Doḍḍaya Alla

[2] An epigraph (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113) at Palivela dated January A.D. 1417 states that Doḍḍama-Reḍḍi Allāḍa destroyed the family of Kātaya-Vēma's enemy completely and restored the kingdom to his children. These were Kātaya-Vēma's son Kumāragiri who succeeded him on the throne of Rajahmundry, and daughter Anitalli who married Vīrabhadrā-Reḍḍi, the second son of Allāḍa (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II, p. 108). Now, the present grant makes it quite clear that Annadēva was fighting with Kātaya-Vēma's family about A.D. 1416. So far as we are aware, the only enemy of Kātaya-Vēma who having displaced the latter's children occupied their kingdom was Annadēva. Therefore, the enemy of Kātaya-Vēma whom Allāḍa-Reḍḍi destroyed with the whole of his family before January A.D. 1417 in order to restore Kātaya-Vēma's children to their paternal kingdom must have been none other than Annadēva. Any doubt that may still linger in our minds is completely set at rest by the poet Śrīnātha who flourished at the court of Vēma and Vīrabhadra, sons of Allāḍa-Reḍḍi. He states that Allāḍa destroyed the overweening pride of Vīrabhadra and Annadēva of the Solar family:

Bhānumat-kula-Vīrabhadr-Ānnadēv-ādi-garva-saṁraṁbhaṁbu-pāku chēsi (*Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1: 62).

It is therefore certain that Allāḍa-Reḍḍi came into conflict with Annadēva-Chōḷa and his son Vīrabhadra and killed them before January 1417 A.D.

there was one major conflict between the Bahmanī Sultan and the king of Vijayanagara in which the city of Sagara played an important part. Fīrūz Khān and Ahmad Khān, the nephews of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, rose up in revolt in 800 A.H. (A.D. 1397) against the latter's son Shams-ud-dīn in Sagar. Though defeated in war and reconciled ostensibly to the Sultan, who again received them into favour, they did not give up their designs upon the throne, and treacherously seized it on the 14th February, A.D. 1397.[1] Fīrūz Khān ascended the throne and assumed the title of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī. The Hindu chiefs who held estates from the Bahmanī Sultan in the neighbourhood of Sagar revolted immediately as a protest against Fīrūz Shāh's usurpation. Though the Bahmanī historians do not explicitly mention this rebellion, they refer to an invasion of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara and the suppression of the Hindu rebels at Sagar by Fīrūz Shāh. According to Firishta, Dēvarāya invaded the territories of the Raichūr Doab in 801 A.H. with the object of capturing the forts of Mudkal and Raichūr, but Fīrūz Shāh moved towards Sagar to frustrate his attempt. "After this", says he, "he put to death a Zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory".[2] Sayyid 'Ali more definitely alludes to a rebellion of the Hindu chiefs. According to him, Fīrūz Shāh declared a *jihād* on Vijayanagara in 802 A.H. (A.D. 1399) and "marched towards Sagar. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultan's approach, they tendered their submission, and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army."[3] It is evident that about A.D. 1398-99 there was a Hindu rebellion in the district of Sagar against the Bahmanī Sultan; and the rebels actually took possession of the fort. Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad declares that the first action of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, after his accession to the throne, was an attack upon the fort of Sagar where some rebels who had taken possession of it had defied his authority.[4] But the Sultan declared war upon the king of Vijayanagara, even before he marched to put down the rebels. Very probably the rebels secured help from the king of Vijayanagara, and placed the stronghold of Sagar in his hands; otherwise, there could have been no battle at Sagar, as stated in this inscription between the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan and the Karṇāṭaka army. Another fact which seems to throw some light on this problem may be mentioned here. In the *Tāḷadīpikā* of Sāḷuva Gōpa-Tippa, one of the *tāḷas* is called '*Sagaradurggādiripāṭaḥ*', *i.e.*, 'he who first broke into the fort of Sagar'. This is, indeed, a curious name for a *tāḷa*; but Tippa states in explanation of the name that the *dēśya-tāḷas*, forty-one in number, were named by him after his titles.[5] Therefore, Sāḷuva Gōpa-Tippa had the title of '*Sagaradurggādiripāṭaḥ*'. Much is not known of Tippa's military activities, and the Sāḷuva inscriptions so far as they are known do not allude to the capture of Sagara by Tippa or his immediate ancestors. Probably like the names of other *tāḷas*, '*Śaṅkarārāgasthāpakaḥ*', '*Dakshiṇasvaratrāṇavipāṭaḥ*', the '*Sagaradurggādiripāṭaḥ*' was also called after one of his ancestral titles. In that case, it alludes to the capture of Sagara (Sagar) by one of the early chiefs of the Sāḷuva family in the service of the king of Vijayanagara. As there is no other known earlier instance of a Vijayanagara attack on the fort, the title perhaps had its origin in the capture of Sagar about this time.

[1] *Burhān-i-Ma'āgir* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 185); Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 359-60.

[2] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

[3] *Burhān-i-Ma'āgir* (*Ind., Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 186).

[4] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), iii. p. 13.

و چون در قلعه سگر بعصی مردمان متحصن شده بودند - اوّلاً بگوشمال آن گروه متوجه شد -

[5] Mysore Or. Mss. Library, No. 3869, 10th fol, f. I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi for extracting for my use this portion from his own copy of the *Tāḷadīpikā*.

Annadēva evidently joined Fīrūz Shāh in his expedition against the fort of Sagar in A.D. 1398-9 and helped him to defeat the Karṇāṭakas and regain the fort. The help which he rendered to Fīrūz Shāh could not have been substantial. As a prince living in exile, he could not have had a large following. Fīrūz Shāh was an ambitious king. He had designs on Teliṅgāṇa and the rich deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. A pretender to the sovereignty of this region would be a pliable tool in his hands, and could be used to his advantage when occasion arose. Moreover, it was desirable to secure an ally who might embarrass the king of Vijayanagara on the east coast in the event of a war in which he might become involved. These considerations prompted Fīrūz Shāh to enter into an alliance with Annadēva and associate him in his war with the Karṇāṭakas.

The **second achievement** attributed to Annadēva is the **conquest of Jaggavāga**, and other enemy cities. Though at the present state of knowledge the identification of these cities and the enemies to whom they belonged is not possible, the capture of these cities seems to indicate Annadēva's return from Gulburga. An inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāmam[1] clearly shows that Annadēva had not only returned to his native country before July 1404 A.D., but had managed to regain the power which he had lost some years earlier.[2] As Drākshārāmam is in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry which at this time served the Reḍḍis as the capital of their northern possessions, it is impossible that Annadēva could have gained a footing in this region without coming into conflict with them, specially with Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was then ruling over this part of the Reḍḍi kingdom.[3] The absence of Kāṭaya-Vēma's inscriptions during the early years of his reign (A.D. 1404-07) in Rajahmundry and its neighbourhood seems to suggest that very probably he had temporarily lost control over his capital immediately after the death of his brother-in-law and sovereign, Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi in A.D. 1403 though he appears to have recaptured it before A.D. 1408.[4] The titles, '*Rājādhirāja*,' and '*Pūrvaśimbāsanādhīśvara*' which Annadēva assumed about this time[5] were probably meant to proclaim his own sovereignty and the triumph which he won over his Reḍḍi adversaries. The circumstances which facilitated Annadēva's return from Gulburga, and the re-establishment of his authority in the Gōdāvarī delta must be explained here, in order to present the facts enumerated in the inscription under consideration in their true perspective. Anavēma died probably in A.D. 1381 and his nephew Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. Kumāragiri's accession was not, however, peaceful and uncontested. The Tottaramūḍi plates which declare that his brother-in-law, 'the powerful Kāṭaya-Vēma placed him on the throne and protected him even as Śrīkrishṇa protected Yudhishṭhira', allude covertly to some opposition which Kāṭaya-Vēma had to overcome before he placed Kumāragiri on the throne, and to the sovereign powers which he exercised on his behalf after his accession. It is evident that Kumāragiri left the onerous task of governing the kingdom to his powerful brother-in-law, and contented

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

[2] My reasons for thinking so are: (1) No trace of him is found before this date in the region of the Gōdāvarī; (2) Anavēma and Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi were in actual possession of this region from A.D. 1371 to 1403; and (3) the Velama king Peda-Vēdagiri is said to have offered protection to Annadēva '*Ala-Chōḍa-Bhakttīndru Anadēvarājuna bempēru-gūche*' (The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, p. 122).

The word *kūche* implies some danger which threatened Annadēva; (4) Annadēva was, after all, a petty chief as yet unknown to fame. It is not likely that his greatness reached the Bahmanī court and induced Fīrūz Shāh to court alliance with him. Judging in the light of these facts, it appears to me that Annadēva who was at Dēvarakoṇḍa joined the Velamas who were the friends of Fīrūz Shāh and helped the latter to take Sagar.

[3] *Mac. Mss.*, 15. 4. 4, p. 233.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 213.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

himself with the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.[1] When his only son, Prince Virānnavōta, died a premature death some time after A.D. 1390, Kumāragiri, who was left without any heir except his distant cousins, resolved to reward his brother-in-law for the valuable services rendered by him. Therefore, he conferred on Kāṭaya-Vēma the eastern territories with Rajahmundry as its capital, and left the remaining part of the kingdom to one of his cousins who might be successful in seizing his throne. Accordingly, on his death, the Reḍḍi territories which had hitherto remained under the authority of a single monarch were divided into two kingdoms, practically hostile to each other. Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, did not naturally acquiesce in the division of the kingdom effected by Kumāragiri and was inclined to question the right of Kāṭaya-Vēma to rule at Rajahmundry.

Another factor which contributed to the removal of the obstacles from the path of Annadēva was the confusion that arose in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, consequent upon the illness which afflicted Harihara II in A.D. 1403. His three sons Bukka II, Virūpāksha I, and Dēvarāya I repaired from their respective provinces to the capital, and were each busy in concerting measures to seize the throne.[2] The death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war which racked the kingdom for two years. Kāṭaya-Vēma who expected help from Vijayanagara, owing to his political and family alliance with Harihara II, could hope for little or no assistance from his ally under the circumstances.[3] It was at this juncture that Annadēva considered it expedient to return to his native country, and make an effort to recover his patrimony. There is reason to believe that his restoration was partly due to a Velama invasion of the Rajahmundry kingdom. Rāvu-Siṅga II, the ruler of Warangal and Rāchakoṇḍa, invaded, probably at the instance of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, the Gōdāvari delta and overran the country as far as the frontiers of Orissa.[4] His cousin, Peda Vēdagiri, the chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa who formerly gave asylum to Annadēva, co-operated with him in the enterprise, and destroyed, according to the *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*, the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi (Tuni division of the East Godavari District) which belonged to Kāṭaya-Vēma.[5] These statements are corroborated by the evidence of a few inscriptions of Peda-Vēdagiri's officers at Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam, both of which were included in the dominions of Kāṭaya-Vēma.[6] One of these records registers the gift of 10 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* to the temple of Śrīkūrmam by Pina Māda-Nāyaḍu, son of Siṅgama-Nāyaḍu, a younger brother of Rēcherla Sūrā-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa in A.D. 1405.[7] The

[1] *Līlā-grihāṇ=kanaka-ratna-chayair=aneḳān pradaidam=uvvata-bichair=Grihārāja-saṁjñam* |
kriḍā-saraṁsi cha vidhāya Vasantarāyaḥ kīrī-radhānasi (?) sah-āramata priyābhiḥ || The Komaragiriyaram Grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 209-10).

[2] *Local Records*, XXII, p. 166.

[3] The marriage between Kāṭaya-Vēma's son, Kāṭa-Prabhu, and Harihara's daughter is mentioned in the Vēmavaram grant (above, Vol. XIII, p. 242).

[4] *Sōm (Snēh ?)=ālisini Pāraśīka-nripatau sandhi-ena-sāmdhāya(na ?)vaiḥ*
kanyāratna-samarpanāt Gajapatau sambandha-gandhaṁgrihī |
Rēcherl-ānnaya-bhūmipaṁ narapatiṁ draṣṭuṁ ranē sōhasaṁ
saṁbhāryaṁ sa (na ?) hi Gastamī-parisara-kshudra-kshamābhṛid-gaṇē ||
(Viśvēśvara, *Chamatkāra-chandrikā*—Madras Government Or. Mss. Lib., R. No. 2670, p. 114).

[5] See Introduction to Kāṭaya-Vēma's Commentary on Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam*.

[6] Kāṭaya-Vēma conquered the country between Simhāchalam and the Vindhyas between A.D. 1385 and 1390. This is brought out by the following passage in the Anaparti grant :
Tasmāt=Siṁhādri-paryanta-prāchya ēva mahīvarāḥ |
Jāsyāḥ=tan-mahīpālān=adhunā jaya-lilayā ||
Tatō Vindhyādri-Siṁhādri-madhyavarti-mahīśvarān |
Jitvā tad-dēśa-durgēshu niyujya sa-adhikāriṇaḥ || *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 204 (vv. 27 and 35).

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1242.

identity of the Sūrā-Nāyaḍu mentioned in this record is disclosed by another at Simhāchalam dated A.D. 1407.[1] He was the Pradhāni or the Minister of (Peda) Vēlagiri-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa. It follows from this that the Velamas who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry about A.D. 1404 remained in the eastern districts for three or four years. As Annadēva was a *protégé* of Peda-Vēlagiri, and as the Velama invasion roughly coincided with Annadēva's return to his native country, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Velama invasion was undertaken to reinstate the latter in his ancestral estates.

What happened in the Gōdāvari delta in the years that immediately followed Annadēva's return is not known. A study of the Reḍḍi inscriptions of this period, however, leads to the conclusion that the successors of Kumāragiri had completely lost control over the coastal region between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvari. Whereas the inscriptions of Kumāragiri are found in this region as in the other parts of the Reḍḍi kingdom, no inscription of his successors — neither of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma nor of Kāṭaya-Vēma,— has been so far discovered. The inscriptions of the early years of Kāṭaya-Vēma's reign are not found anywhere to the west of Pīṭhāpuram and Peddāpuram; and none of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma is found on the north of the Kṛishṇā. A part of this region, if not the whole of it, probably passed into the hands of Annadēva.

Kāṭaya-Vēma was thus hemmed in between two enemies during these years. On the east were the Velamas in the neighbourhood of Simhāchalam, and on the west was Annadēva in the neighbourhood of his capital. Kāṭaya-Vēma must have been driven out of his capital and maintained a precarious hold on the Pīṭhāpuram-cum-Peddāpuram region, biding his time to dislodge his enemy. He perceived, at last, a chance of obtaining help from Vijayanagara. Dēvarāya I who emerged successfully out of a civil war ascended the throne in A.D. 1406; but he had to face a simultaneous attack delivered by two of his neighbours. Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma who could not reconcile himself to the loss of the districts of Addanki and Śrīśailam despatched an expedition into the Udayagiri-rājya and occupied a large part of the present Cuddapah District.[2] At the same time, Fīrūz Shāh attacked Vijayanagara from the north.[3] Dēvarāya, however, successfully withstood these attacks, and within the course of the next three or four years consolidated his position in the kingdom. It was at this time that Kāṭaya-Vēma set out for Vijayanagara and reached Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District about the end of A.D. 1410.[4] It is not known whether he actually proceeded to Vijayanagara to solicit help from Dēvarāya. Taking into consideration the serious situation in which Kāṭaya-Vēma was involved, it is difficult to believe that his visit to Ahōbalam in the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom was not actuated by political motives. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies on the banks of the Gōdāvari fighting against Annadēva during the succeeding years, as mentioned in the inscription under review, clearly shows that Vēma succeeded, whether he actually met Dēvarāya or not, in obtaining help.

Now this brief narrative of the political developments in the kingdom of Rajahmundry furnishes the clue for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this inscription. Kāṭaya-Vēma seems to have abandoned the caution which characterised his early actions, some time after his return from Vijayanagara and embarked on a policy of aggression. Though he still maintained his hold on the eastern bank of the river, his enemy was in possession of the opposite bank.[5] It was necessary that he should control both the banks of the river to ensure the safety

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1100.

[2] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 383.

[3] *Local Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[4] No. 84 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] Two epigraphs, one at Pōlavaram on the west bank of the Gōdāvari (No. 1293 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) and another at Pālakōl in the Narasapur tāluk of the West Godavari District (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 145) dated A.D. 1408 and A.D. 1413 respectively show that Annadēva was the master of the western bank.

of his dominion, and free himself from the ever-present threat of attack. The conquest of the district of Attili (Tapuku division, W. Godavari District) and the capture of that town and the fort by the southern kings referred to in the present inscription, point out clearly that Vēma launched an attack upon his enemy's territory.[1] The number and identity of the southern kings are not known, though it may be confidently asserted that the tributary princes and the nobles of Vijayanagara were certainly among them. Annadēva was not disposed to allow this affront to his authority to pass unavenged. Having quickly gathered together his friends and followers, he marched at their head to chastise the invaders. He came upon the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma's southern allies in the vicinity of Attili, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. A large body of the enemy's forces numbering 10,000 men who were stationed in the fort of Attili were compelled as a consequence of defeat to surrender to him.

While Annadēva was engaged in taking possession of the fort of Attili, one of his friends who is unfortunately not mentioned by name in the inscription, came into conflict with a contingent of the Vijayanagara (*Kannaḍa*) army at Kāṅkaṛaparti on the Gautamī (*i.e.* the Gōdāvarī). Confronted with a superior force, he was unable to cope with the situation, and stood in grave peril of destruction. Intelligence of the sad plight of his friend having reached Annadēva, he hastened with his troops to rescue his friend. As soon as he arrived at Kāṅkaṛaparti, he lost no time in engaging himself in action. Led by his brother-in-law, Pina-Uḍirāja, his army fell upon the Karṇāṭakas and hacked them to pieces. It was an overwhelming disaster to Kāṭaya-Vēma's side, his allies were nearly annihilated, and his family had to surrender to his enemy, abjectly begging him to spare their lives.

Two points demand explanation here. (*a*) It is said that Annadēva rescued some friend who was assailed by the Karṇāṭakas at Kāṅkaṛaparti. The inscription gives no help to establish his identity. A passage from *Burhān-i-Ma'āṡir*, however, seems to throw some light on the problem. Describing the events during the last years of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, Sayyid 'Alī states that the Sultan led an army into Telingāna and subjugated the country as far as Rajahmundry.

"The Sultan", says he, "being determined to conquer Telingāṇa proceeded in that direction till having got near Rajahmundry he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken the whole of that territory he consigned it to the agents of government, and then set out for his capital".[2] Sayyid 'Alī does not give the date of this expedition; but he mentions a number of events which had taken place before and after the dispatch of the expedition. However, a comparison with Ferishta's account of these events, may enable us to determine

[1] Though the identity of the southern kings is not disclosed in the inscription, it is not difficult to conjecture who they were. In the south, more strictly south-west, of Annadēva's dominions were the kingdoms of Koṇḍavīḍu and Vijayanagara. It is not likely that they should have joined together to attack Annadēva; for, in the first place, the relations between Koṇḍavīḍu and Vijayanagara were anything but friendly at this time; and secondly Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma, the king of Koṇḍavīḍu, who was hostile to Kāṭaya-Vēma would not have helped him or his family by making an attack upon Annadēva. The king of Vijayanagara was related to Kāṭaya-Vēma, as pointed out already, by marriage alliance. At Sagar the former encountered at first Annadēva as an ally of the Bahmanī Sultan; and then according to the present record he was fighting with the latter at Kāṅkaṛaparti on the Gōdāvarī as an opponent. Moreover, according to Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇaṃ*, 1 : 62 (above Vol. XIII, p. 241), the king of Karṇāṭa was an ally of Allāḍa who restored Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their kingdom. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the southern kings referred to in the present record was the king of Karṇāṭaka and that he came there with his forces to help Kāṭaya-Vēma and his family.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 187.

roughly the time when the expedition was undertaken. The facts mentioned by both the historians are given in the following schedule, for the purposes of comparison :

Sayyid 'Ali	*Ferishta.*
(1) Fīrūz Shāh's second war with Vijayanagara ; and his capture of Bhānūr and Musalkal.	*Nil.*
(2) One year after this, he invaded Māhūr and made peace with the Rāys.	The Sultan invaded Gondvana *i.e.* Māhūr in 815 A.H.
(3) Hushyār and Bēdār rose to prominence	*Nil.*
(4) Death of Khwāja-i-Jahān, the prime minister of the Sultan .	*Nil.*
(5) The invasion of Telingāṇa as far as Rajahmundry, and the conquest of the country	*Nil.*
(6) The siege of Pāngal	The siege of Nalgoṇḍa-Pāngal in 820 A.H.

It is obvious that Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry took place between 815 A.H. and 820 A.H.

Another fact which seems to have some bearing on the subject must be taken into consideration here. Notwithstanding the uniform success which attended his arms, and the comparative ease with which he subjugated the country, Fīrūz Shāh is said to have returned to his capital without making an attempt to capture Rajahmundry, although he marched victoriously to the neighbourhood of the city. The reason for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity to capture the city is not quite apparent. Rajahmundry was an important stronghold in the lower valley of the Gōdāvarī, and it was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom. The temptation to plunder the city, if not actually to take possession of it, must have been too strong for an orthodox and ambitious Muhammadan king like Fīrūz Shāh to overcome. Therefore, the return of the Sultan without even making an attempt to invest the city must be attributed to some obstacle which compelled him to turn back and hasten homewards.

A few incidental remarks thrown out by the Muslim historians, while describing the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa by Fīrūz Shāh in the middle of 820 A. H. (August, A.D. 1417), seem to suggest that the Sultan was compelled to return by the arrival of a fresh Vijayanagara army in the east. Firishta states that in the middle of the year 820 A. H., the Sultan made an attack on Pāngal commonly known as Nalkoṇḍa in his day, a fort which stood at a distance of eighty farsangs or two hundred and forty miles from Ādōni on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā.[1] The authenticity

[1] Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 389-90. There are two forts named Pāngal in Telingāṇa. One of them stands, at a distance of about seventy miles to the east of Ādōni, in the Mahbubnagar District of Hyderabad State. This could not have been the Pāngal besieged by Fīrūz Shāh, as the distance between this fort and Ādōni is seventy miles and not two hundred and forty as stated by Firishta.

There is another Pāngal, adjoining the town of Nalkoṇḍa, the headquarters of the District of the same name in Hyderabad. In fact, Pāngal and Nalkoṇḍa are so near each other that they may be regarded as two different suburbs, as it were, of the same town. Moreover, the distance between this fort and Ādōni roughly agrees with that given by Firishta.

The name Bilkoṇḍa which is found both in Briggs' translation and the published Persian text (Naval Kishore Press) of Firishta is a corruption of Nalkoṇḍa, due to a scribal error commonly met with in Persian mss., lithographs, etc. Some scribe, either due to negligence or ignorance, shifted the dot indicating the phonetic value of the initial letter ' noon ' (ن) from the top to the bottom, and changed it into ' be ' (ب). Consequently, Nalkoṇḍa (نلكونده) was transformed into Bilkoṇḍa (بلكونده). In one of the mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the name of the fort is spelt as Malkoṇḍa :—

و در اواسطه سال مذکور قاصد تسخیر پانگل که درین وقت به ملکونده شهرت دارد از قلعه ادونی نالنجا هشتاد فرسنگ است شده بانصوب لشکر کشید -

—Cat. of Arab. and Persian mss. in the Library of R. A. S. B. No. D 57 fol. 332A.

of Firishta's account is corroborated by the evidence of two inscriptions both dated July, A.D. 1417, at Vēdādri in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna District. They refer to the occupation of Vōḍapalli-Vazīrābād and Śrīraṅgarājukoṇḍa (Vēdādri) on the banks of the Kṛishṇā in the eastern country by Sarakhu Maluka Jainādi Voḍaya (Sharq ? Malik Ziān-ud-dīn), an younger brother of Masnad-i-'Aly Habīb Nizām-ul-Mulk, one of the favourite ministers of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh[1]. As Vōḍapalli-Vazīrābād, where Malik Ziān-ud-dīn was ruling in A.D. 1417, is situated at the junction of the Musi with the Kṛishṇā at a distance of about thirty miles in the south-east of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, there is no scope for any doubt about the identity of the fort invested by the Sultan. The causes of this attack are not fully explained by the Muslim historians. From Firishta's account it would appear that it was an act of unprovoked aggression. "Without regarding his relationship to the Rāy of Beejanuggur", says he, "he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years."[2] Sayyid 'Ali asserts, on the contrary, that the Sultan was compelled to march against Vijayanagara, though he does not mention the circumstances which rendered the invasion obligatory.[3] Khāfī Khān, however, states that Fīrūz Shāh's march upon Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa was due to an invasion of his territories by the king of Vijayanagara. "At this time (*i.e.* after 818 A. H.)", says he, "the intelligence of the advance of Rāy of Bijānagar with numerous forces on the territories of Islam arrived. Sultan Fīrūz Shāh having gathered his troops marched in that direction personally to oppose him with the army and the materials of war."[4] If the evidence of Sayyid 'Ali and Khāfī Khān could be relied upon, Fīrūz Shāh appears to have marched to the eastern Telingāna to ward off an attack of the king of Vijayanagara on his dominions in that region. Fīrūz Shāh was an ally, and, according to the Muhammadan historians, the overlord, of the Velamas whose territory extended from Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rājukoṇḍa in the south to the Gōdāvarī in the north. Though this region did not properly form part of the Sultan's kingdom, it may be termed the territory of Islam (*bilād-i-Islām*), as its rulers, the Velamas, paid tribute and owed probably allegiance to him. It is not known when the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, which stands close to their principal capital Rājukoṇḍa, fell into the hands of the king of Vijayanagara. Probably Dēvarāya I seized it in the absence of the Velama forces, when they accompanied the Sultan during his expedition to the Gōdāvarī valley. The reduction of this fort, and the consequent submission of the dependent territory must have brought under the control of Dēvarāya an important strategic position which commanded the route along which his armies had to pass on their way to the east coast. If, on the other hand, the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa had been in the possession of the king of Vijayanagara even earlier, the Bahmanī territory which he invaded at this time must have extended further eastwards into the coastal region which was recently conquered by the Sultan. In any case, the Vijayanagara attack on the possessions of Fīrūz Shāh in the east must have threatened the Sultan's rear, and compelled him to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry abandoning his designs of further conquest.

However, the date of this invasion is not known. Khāfī Khān places it sometime after 818 A. H. (A.D. 1415-16).[5] As the Vijayanagara invasion immediately preceded Fīrūz Shāh's

[1] Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of Nizām-ul-Mulk and his colleague and friend 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āSir*,

"At this time (about 815 A. H.) two slaves named Hushyār and Bēdār who, by royal favours and rank, were distinguished above all courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them, and most of the important affairs of government and army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bēdār was given the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Hushyār that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk". (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 187).

[2] Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 380.

[3] *Burhan-i-Ma'āSir* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 188).

[4] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, p. 63.

دریں آواں خبر حرکت رائے بیجانگر بالشکر بے کراں طرف بلاد اسلام رسید - سلطان فیروز شہ
مقابل او لشکر کشیدہ خود را مع فوج و مصالح محاربہ بہ آن * سمت رسانید -

[5] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, pp. 62-3.

attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa in 820 A. H., it seems to have taken place probably in the previous year. Sayyid 'Ali, it may be remembered, describes Fīrūz Shāh's invasion of Telingāṇa immediately before his attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, suggesting thereby that one preceded the other. Taking all these facts into consideration it seems reasonable to assign Fīrūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Rajahmundry to the year 819 A. H. (1416-17 A.D.).[1] Now, this appears to be the time when Annadēva was waging war on Kāṭaya-Vēma and his allies in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry.[2] As Fīrūz Shāh was an old friend and ally of Annadēva, it is not unlikely that he came to assist the latter at his invitation. Since Fīrūz Shāh is said to have got near Rajahmundry and turned back without proceeding against the city, he was probably 'the friend' whom Annadēva rescued from the Karṇāṭakās on the battlefield of Kāṇikaṇapurti.

(b) The other problem which stands in need of elucidation is the manner of Kāṭaya-Vēma's disappearance from the scene of his activities. Nothing is said about him in the present inscription though it speaks of the surrender of his family to Annadēva. It is certain that Vēma did not fall into the hands of Annadēva. Neither is it likely that he perished in a battle with Annadēva, nor being defeated by him could have taken to flight leaving his family at the tender mercies of his enemy; for, in either case, Annadēva would not have failed to include these facts in the list of his achievements given in the present charter. Therefore, the only reasonable alternative is to assume that Kāṭaya-Vēma died elsewhere under circumstances which are not known at present. Though nothing can be said definitely about the manner of his death, it is certain that the event itself had taken place between March and August 1416 A.D.; for, in the first place, he was still ruling at Rajahmundry according to an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated March A.D. 1416.[3] But another epigraph at Polivela dated in the month of January A.D. 1417 alludes to his death and the destruction of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy, evidently Annadēva, at the hands of Allāḍa;[4] and a third epigraph dated August A.D. 1416 refers to the establishment of the power of Allāḍa in the kingdom.[5] It follows from this that Kāṭaya-Vēma's death took place between March and August A.D. 1416. As Fīrūz Shāh led his troops as far as Rajahmundry in A.D. 1416, it is not unreasonable to believe that Vēma might have perished in the invasion while attempting to check the advance of the Muslim army.[6]

[1] Sayyid 'Alī places Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry before his attack on Pāngal (Nalkoṇḍa). Firishta assigns the commencement of the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa to 820 A. H. Khāfī Khān places the Vijayanagara invasion of Bahmanī dominions in the east (which in my opinion compelled Fīrūz Shāh to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry) sometime after 818 A. H.

Assuming that the position taken up by me is correct, Fīrūz Shāh must have been in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at the time of the Vijayanagara invasion. If the Vijayanagara invasion took place after 818 A.H. and the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa commenced in 820 A. H., Fīrūz Shāh's Rajahmundry expedition which, as I understand the situation, took place between these two dates, may be reasonably assigned to 819 A. H.

[2] Kāṭaya-Vēma was in Ahōbalam at the end of A.D. 1416. Hostilities between him and Annadēva must have commenced sometime after his return to his capital; it is not possible to determine the exact duration which elapsed between Vēma's return and the commencement of hostilities.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 330.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V., No. 113; see note 2 on p. 29 above. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 133.

[6] Tradition preserved in the family records and the *prašasti* of the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs (*Mack. Mss.* 15. 4. 3, pp. 112-13) alludes to a battle in which a scion of the family, called Gajarow Tippa, defeated the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu, a village in the Elūru taluk of West Godavari District. Moreover, the family *prašasti* embodies a *birada*, viz., *Kāṭaya-Vēmuni-iṇḍa-goṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya-Vēma) which points to Vēma's death at the hands of Gajarow Tippa or some other member of his family, probably at Guṇḍukolanu itself. If this tradition could be relied upon, Vēma appears to have died in a battle with the Velamas, to which community the Koppunūḷḷa family belonged. Taking into consideration the time of Vēma's death as well as the friendly relations that subsisted between the Velamas and Fīrūz Shāh, the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs seem to have accompanied Fīrūz Shāh's army during the Telingāṇa invasion and killed Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu. In that case, the engagement at Guṇḍukolanu must have preceded that of Attili.

4. Besides the achievements of Annadēva and his father enumerated above, the plates under edition give also an account of their **religious beliefs** and pious benefactions. Annadēva and his father were both staunch Śaivas. Though the latter was originally named Kāmarāja by his parents, he acquired, on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Śiva, the sobriquet Bhaktirāja, by which he was commonly known to his contemporaries (III, l. 8). Kāmapurī, his capital, appears to have been a strong Śaiva centre. The allusion to the sound of the bells echoing in the streets of the city from early dawn onwards suggests that the inhabitants were given more or less exclusively to the worship of the god of the place who was Śiva (III, ll. 18-19). Though the present charter does not mention any of Bhaktirāja's deeds of charity, information gleaned from other sources represents him as a patron of Śaiva divines and institutions. The Madras Museum Plates register his gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu, probably identical with Kaḍavakolanu a small station on the M. S. M., N. E. line in the Guntur District, to the great ascetic Viśvēśvara or Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata.[1] And the Telugu poet Śrīnātha speaks of his grant of two villages Cheruvāḍa and Ātukūru to the shrine of god Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila.[2]

Annadēva seems to have inherited his love of the Śaiva creed from his father. He was a *Paramamāhēśvara*[3] and most of his inscriptions record his benefactions to Śaiva shrines. Annadēva was accustomed to offer worship to Śiva six times a day, beginning with sun-rise (IV, l. 40); he added a *gōpura* of seven storeys (*sāpta-bhauma*) to the temple of Śiva probably at Mummaḍi-Prōḷavaram (IV, ll. 43-44); gilded the temple of Vīrabhadra at Paṭṭēsa and the *vimāna* of the shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma (IV, ll. 50-52); and granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, the deity of his family.

Though Annadēva was an ardent devotee of Śiva, he was not a follower of the fanatical Vīra-Śaiva sect which gained the enthusiastic support of a large number of people in his time. He was, as evidenced by the term *Paramamāhēśvara*, a member of the Pāśupata community[4], the members of which notwithstanding their bias to Śiva, did not approve of the Vīra-Śaiva tenets denouncing the Vēdas and the social system based on them. That accounts for the praise bestowed upon such deities as Vāṇī and Hari in the opening verses of this charter, and the liberal munificence of Annadēva to Brāhmans. Annadēva, in observance of a vow, as it were, fed daily a large number of Brāhmans—Śaiva as well as non-Śaiva, ascetics and *yōgins* (IV, ll. 40-41; ll. 45-46). He gave also to Brāhmans a thousand cows in the vicinity of the temple of Vīrabhadra at Paṭṭēsa on the bank of the Gautamī, and supplemented it with the gifts, *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇya-mēru* (IV, ll. 47-49).[5] In addition to these, he granted them two villages, **Uttama-gaṇḍa—Chōḍ-Annadēvavaram** in the district of Visiṛi situated at the junction of the Pinnasāni and the Gaṅgā, and **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṅgā to the west of Pallūri-Śailavaram. These benefactions show that Annadēva's deeds of charity to temples and Brāhmans were as numerous as his victories on the field of battle.

[1] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 142.

[2] *Śivarātri-māhātmyamu*, I: 16.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

[4] See Bhandarkar: *Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 119. [The title *Paramamāhēśvara* would only show that he was a Śaiva, and not necessarily of the Pāśupata sect.—Ed.]

[5] The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hēmādri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus: Brāhmans must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *puṇyāhavāchana* or purificatory ceremony. In a *maṇḍapa* which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *śrāddhaśirāddha*, or the *śrāddha* for ensuring prosperity.

5. *Annadēva's family :* Bhaktirāja had, as stated in an earlier context, two sons, Annadēva and Bhīma-Liṅga. The latter married a daughter of king Annavēma, and got by her a daughter called Vēmāmbā ; and she espoused Allōḍa and gave birth to four sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna.

Annadēva married Irugāmbikā, the daughter of Chakravarti of the Solar race, and a sister of Pina-Uṇḍirāja who helped him to win the victory over the Karṇāṭakas at Kāṁkaṇaparti (III, l. 28, IV, ll. 29, 33-34). Pina-Uṇḍirāja and his father Chakravarti were probably related to Peda-Uṇḍirāja of the Solar race who granted the village of Rāvulaparti to Brāhmaṇas in Śaka 1304[1], though the exact connection between the two families is not definitely known. Annadēva had by Irugāmbā, a son called Vīrabhadra (IV, l. 30). Though no information is furnished by the present Plates about Vīrabhadra's activities, a line in Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam* suggests that he helped his father in fighting against his enemies and was consequently slain by Allāḍa.[2]

6. The **date** on which the Rajahmundry Museum Plates were issued is not known, owing to the loss of some plates belonging to the set. Nevertheless it is not impossible to discover the probable date when the gift was made. As the inscription describes the submission of Vēma's family to Annadēva, the gift must have been made after the occurrence of this event. We have already stated that Kāṭaya-Vēma died about the middle of A.D. 1416, and that his family submitted to Annadēva about the end of the same year. Now it is stated in an epigraph at Palivela dated 17th January A.D. 1417 that Doḍḍaya Allā, after the death of Kāṭaya-Vēma, destroyed 'the family of the latter's enemy' completely.[3] The enemy referred to in this inscription, as pointed by Mr. V. Apparao in his article on the Rajahmundry Plates, was Annadēva.[4] The defeat, if not the destruction, of Annadēva and his son Vīrabhadra is alluded to by the poet Śrīnātha in the introduction to his *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*.[5] It follows from this that Annadēva did not long survive his victory. Therefore, the Rajahmundry Plates which he issued after Kāṭaya-Vēma's death must be assigned **to the end of A.D. 1416**.

Seven golden *kuṇḍas* (vessels) 21"×21" or 10"×10" in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from 7 to 1,000 *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured. They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology : and the images in gold respectively of Brahman, Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakshmi and Pārvati, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty-five Brāhmaṇs (8 *Ṛitviks*, 8 *dvārapālakas*, 8 *japa-Brāhmaṇas* and 1 *guru*) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the *maṇḍapa* must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the *yajamāna* has to bathe and go around the *vēdi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times ; and finally the *kuṇḍas* must be given away as a gift to the Brāhmaṇs. (Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi, Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibl. Ind.), Ch. 5, pp. 337-339).

The *Suvarṇamēru* comes under *Mērudānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case it is made of grain, it is called the *Dhānya-Mēru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold Mēru, the representation must have three ridges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the Mēru is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a Brāhman invited for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varāha. (Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.)

[1] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1918, Part ii, p. 173.

[2] *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

[5] *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62.

7. The names of several territorial divisions, rivers, towns and villages are mentioned in this inscription.

I. Territorial divisions :—

(1) Attili-sīma ; (2) Visaṛi-nāḍu.

II. Rivers :—

(1) The Gaṅgā, (2) the Gautamī, (3) the Pinnasāni.

III. Towns :—

(1) Attili, (2) Jaggavāga, (3) Kāmapurī, (4) Kāśī, (5) Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, (6) Sagara, (7) Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa.

IV. Villages :—

(1) Bharaṇipāḍu, (2) Chōḍi-Ānnadēvavara, (3) Drākshārāma, (4) Gulapūtiḍi, (5) Kāṁkaraparti, (6) Pallūri-Śailavara, (7) Pañchadhāra, (8) Paṭṭesa, (9) Pedlakoṇḍa.

In addition to these, the name of a hill called the Gōmukhagiri with a temple dedicated to Gōmukhagirīśvara, evidently named after the hill on which the shrine was built, is also mentioned.

Some of these towns and villages have been already identified in the course of the preceding discussion. The rest are taken up here for consideration.

Attili-sīma was so called after Attili, which was evidently the headquarters of the district. Attili is at present situated in the south-west of the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. It stands at the junction of two roads on a canal named after it. The boundaries of the Attili-sīma are not known ; and it is not possible, in the absence of the necessary data, to demarcate even roughly the area included in the district.

The situation of **Visaṛi-nāṇḍu** is not so easily ascertained. Visaṛi-nāṇḍu figures in an epigraph belonging to the middle of the 13th century among the countries conquered by Eruva-Bhīma, one of Annadēva's ancestors.[1] As Annadēvavaram, the object of the present grant included in this district, is said to have been situated at the junction of the Pinnasāni and the Gaṅgā (another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī), it is certain that Visaṛi-nāṇḍu extended along the bank of the Gōdāvarī ; and as no tributary of the Gōdāvarī is known at present by the name of the Pinnasāni, and as no village of Chōḍi-Ānnadēvavaram or Annadēvavaram can be located on the bank of the river, the position of Visaṛi-nāṇḍu cannot be defined exactly at present.

Of the **rivers** mentioned in the plates, **Gaṅgā**, as explained already, is another name by which the Gōdāvarī is frequently referred to in inscriptions as well as in literature. The poet Śrīnātha who was a contemporary of Annadēva states that the river Gaṅgā flowed touching the western wall of the city of Rajahmundry.[2] The **Gautamī** is also another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī. As Paṭṭesa, famous for its shrine of Vīrabhadra, is said to be on the bank of the river, it should be identified with the Akhaṇḍa-Gautamī, *i.e.*, the Gautamī before it divides itself into the seven branches known collectively by the name of Sapta-Gōdāvaram. The identity of the Pinnasāni, which must have been a small stream flowing into the Gōdāvarī, is, as stated already, not known.

8. Of the **towns** mentioned in the record, **Attili, Kāmapurī, Sagara and Sūravaram** have been identified already. Nothing is known about Jaggavāga ; Kāśī is, of course, the famous city of Benares. The situation of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra of which a glowing account is given in the present inscription cannot be ascertained definitely. Mr. V. Apparao identifies it with 'Muramaṇḍa-Pōlavaram (probably the same as Murumaṇḍa in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District)'.[3]

[1] No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection ; *Bhārati*, Vol. XV, p. 158.

[2] *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, I : 58.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

9. Of the **villages** mentioned in the charter **Gulapūṇḍi, Pañchadhāra** and **Pedakoṇḍa** have already been taken into consideration. Some of the remaining villages can be easily identified. **Drākshārāma** which is celebrated for its famous Śiva temple is still a place of some importance. It stands on the north bank of the Iñjaram canal in the Ramachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari District. **Kāṁkaṛaparti** is identical with the modern village of Kākarapaṛru, on the west bank of the Gōdāvarī. It is at present included in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. **Paṭṭesam** stands on a picturesque island in the Gōdāvarī and is at present included in the Rajahmundry taluk. On a craggy hill, which was known in the days of Annadēva as the Gōmukhagiri, are the temples of Gōmukhagirīśvara and Vīrabhadra, whither large numbers of pilgrims still flock to attend the annual festival in the month of February.

The situation of the remaining three villages is not known. No village bearing the name of Bharaṇipāḍu seems to be in existence at present. There is, however, a village of the name of Bhariṇikam in the Anakapalle taluk of the Vizagapatam District. As Bhaktirāja was active in this region fighting with the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra, it is not impossible that Bharaṇipāḍu where he defeated king Singa should have been identical with Bhariṇikam.

While engaged in editing these plates, I received considerable assistance from several scholars. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao kindly furnished me, at my request, with a set of impressions of these plates, taken afresh from the originals in the Rajahmundry Museum. The Epigraphist to the Government of India secured from the same scholar, for my use, the impressions of the Anaparti plates of Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi which are in his possession. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy (Madras), checked my transcript and helped me to determine the correct reading of the text in certain places. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi and Dr. V. Raghavan rendered invaluable help in the correction and interpretation of the text. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Messrs. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar and N. Lakhsminarayan Rao revised the manuscripts of the introductory portion of this article and offered me several useful suggestions. I am grateful to these scholars and offer them my heart-felt thanks for their generous and ungrudging help.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओङ्कारवन्निखिळ[1]वाग्विभवस्य सृष्टेराद्या प्ररत्नुच्छिनदोधितिचंद्रिकाभा [।*] सर्वेश्वरादिसकळ-
ळामरवं-

2 दनिय्या[2] वाणी वराभयकरा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ॥ 1[॥*] सा भारती निखिळवेद-
पुराणरूपवांग्वादिनी क-

3 मळसंभवमुख्यवंद्या [।*] हंसावदातवपुरागममौळिमृग्या चिन्मात्रमूर्त्तिरवतादखिळ-

4 प्रपंचं(चम्) । [।2॥*] यानंदमूर्त्तिरखिळांतरमार्गवृत्तिरंभोरुहैकवनसंचरणोल्लसंती ।
यास्यादितेंदुवि-

5 गळच्चधुरासृतार्द्रा सा योगिवंद्यविभवा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ।[।*] 3[॥*] दंताग्रकोटि-
दरदष्टधराधरस्य यस्यां-[3]

[1] Regarding the use of *ḷa* for *la* attention is drawn to the remarks on orthography on p. 14. As such use is too frequent in the text no correction is made.

[2] Read °वदनीया.

[3] The anusvāra is written in the next line.

6 गर्के निखिलवारिधयः प्रह्वधाः[1] । खेदांबुबिंदुवदुदंचितसत्व(त्त्व)हृत्तेगभांत्यमौ किंचिनतूर्ध्वरि-

7 रस्तु भूत्यै ॥4॥[1*] यस्य त्रिलोकजननी जननी भवानी यस्येश्वरः स्वजगता जनको गिरीशः [।*] यस्य स्मृतिर्निखिल[वि]-

8 घ्नतमोविवस्वान् सोयं करींद्रवदनो जयतात्कुमारः ॥[1*] 5[।] हेमाद्रि[2]गर्भविपु-लैकपुरोपकंठप्रा-

9 कारभूतमखिलावधिपर्वताग्रे । विघ्नं प्रबोधयितुमुच्चलितो[3] प्रदीपो देवाग्रयेव जयता-

10 मिह पुण्यवंतो [।*] 6 ॥[1*] यां [मे]सुर्वत्ति(ति) गिरिजां प्रकृतिं च मायां लक्ष्मीं गिरं सकलसृष्टिनिदानरूपां(पाम्) । दु-

11 र्गां प्रचुंड[4]महिषासुरमर्दनी मा भर्गेकस्य विभवा भवतात्प्रसन्ना ॥[1*]7॥[1*] क्रीड-न्मृदा श्रुति[5]पुटांचिततिग्म-

12 भानुघृष्टावतंसपदलंभितचंद्रबिंबः । उद्दामशृंगरवपूरितपद्मजांडः सेवेश्वरो दिशतु म-

13 र्वशुभानि नित्यं(त्यम्) ॥[1*] 21[8] [1*] गंगातरंगतनुशीकरतारकाक्ति(भिः) संस्पृश्यमानरुचिम-रश्मिकऊ(क्ष)किरीटं(टम्) । अर्धांगकांतिम-

14 णिमादिगुणोज्ज्वलंतमाराधयामि मनसा शिवमष्टमूर्त्ति(र्त्तिम्) ॥9॥[1*] अध्यामितः श्वशुरमंदिरप

Second Plate (lost).

Third Plate; First Side.

1 लामरकामिनीभिः । युष्टांगणा(णे) निहतवीरवरो(र)स्य कांता विष्णोरिवाश्रितनयाभ-वदखेमांबा ॥

2 जातस्तयोरभवदे[9]वभौमभूपस्त्रैलोक्यगीतविमलात्मयशःप्रतापः [।*] प्रोलांबिकाय-

3 तिरनैककऊ(क्ष)प्रवीणो भूलोककल्पतरुरिंदुरिवाब्धिपेयः ॥ लक्ष्मीपत(ति)स्तदन दाम-नृपालचं-

4 द्रो जातस्तयोर्जगति विष्णु(ष्णु)तधर्ममूर्त्तिः । सूरांबिकापतिरभूदथ सोमभूपः क्षीरांबुधे-

5 रिव ततो जगतामुपास्यः [।*] गंगाधरोजन(नि) तयोरिकुमांबिकायाः प्राणेश्वरः प्रथितमान-

[1] Read प्रह्वाः.
[1*] The Telugu numeral figure 1 denoting the number of the plate, is inscribed just above the line.
[2] Read °शैलपुरो°.
[3] Read °मुच्चलितो.
[4] Read °प्रचण्ड°.
[5] Read °श्रुति°.
[8] The numeral 21 is wrongly introduced for 8 here.

i.



iii,a.



iii,b.



iv,a.



iv,b.



vii,a.



6 धनो नृपालः । मात्ताद्विरोशमिव यं विबुधा[ः²] स्तुवंति धर्म्मैकमूर्त्तिमरिगंडरगंड-
कीर्तिं(र्तिम्) ॥[1*]

7 गंगाधरादिरुगमाधिकया ममेताक्षीभाग्यशोर्यमहिताजनि कामराजः । यश्चंद्र-

8 चूडचरणांबुरुहैकभक्त्या भक्तीश्वराख्यमगाद्भुवनेषु पश्चात् ॥[1*] प्रांते युवैव गु-

9 लपुंडिपुरस्य शूरान् यो भीमरादियवनाधिपतीनजैषीत् । प्राच्यां च कोप्युल-
पतिर्हिमि

10 येन पंचधारांगणे गजपतिं जयताभ्यर्चचि ॥ शूराग्रणि(र्णी)र्भरणिपाटिपुरोममीपे यः
शिं(सिं)ग-

11 भूतरूपतिं कद[ने] व्यनैषीत् । यस्तेजसा च पेड(ड)कीडपुरीममीपे रत्नीवलान्
दवुरुखान्-

12 मुखानज(जै)षीत् ॥[1*] येनैव सूरवरपट्टनमंनिधाने वीरावलीनृपतिर्विजितो विमो-
दात् । तस्याग्रहीत् कर-

13 मरीरुहमत्रेमांबा भक्तीश्वर(र)स्य गिरिजेव शशांकमौलेः ॥ भक्तीश्वरोयमथ निर्मित-
वानुदारामु-

14 जूं(ज्जुं)भमाणविभवां परमात्मनाम्ना । या पश्चगोलमनुजाम्बयणं ज्ञ(ज्ञ)गत्वां कल्याण-
नामक-

Third Plate : Second Side.

15 मनिथ्यंतरापराभूत् ॥ आंध्रावनंममिह कामपुरी प्रसिद्धा विस्तारिसर्वविभवा
सुकृतैक-

16 भूमिः । [जि]त्वामरेंद्रनगरीं चपितात्मपुण्यामुजूं(ज्जुं)भते मततसंचरदंन(दन)दाना ॥
हर्म्येषु य-

17 च निशि निर्भरकामतंचकांताकुचांतरगरुन्मृगनाभिरेणौ । नित्यं चरन्मितसुरप्यभज-
त्कर्कंकिभा-

18 धं भू(भु)वं जयति कामपुरीयमुर्व्या(र्व्याम्) ॥ यत्रानुवीथि विचरत्करणोदयादिवैकास्तु सूचि-

19 तग्रिवार्चनकर्मयत्नः । घंटारवः श्रुति[²]पथेन मनः प्रविश्य तत्राप्यघं हरति कामपुरी-

[1] Read 'भीम-'
[2] Read 'श्रुति-'

20 यमोद्या ॥ यच्चांगणे महितपुण्यफलैकगम्ये कस्तूरिकाद्यगणितार्थ[1]गणं निरीक्ष्य । विद्वद्गणो-

21 भवदनंतपदार्थ[2]वादी सर्वोपि मा जयति कामपुरी पृथिव्यां ॥[1*] भक्तीश्वरस्य तनयो मल्लि-

22 तोम्बदेव[3]स्तस्याभवज्जगति जंगमपारिजातः [॥*] सौंदर्यसीमपरिभूतजयंतकी-

23 र्त्तिर्व्यावल्गनिष्कृतनवीनमृगांकमूर्त्तिः ॥ वेश्यांगनायितविरोधिधरातलेंद्रो वाडुप्रताप-

24 विभवादनदेवभूपः । भूत्वा तुरुष्कनृपतेस्समरे सहायः कर्नाटसैन्यमसिमाचसखो

25 ऽनैषीत् ॥ उद्दंडवृत्तिविभवाच्चिपुरीमिवेशो यो जग्मवागमुखवैरिप(पु)राख्यजैषीत् । सं-

26 जीवनं सुरवरद्विजपुंगवानां जागर्त्त्यं जगति चोडकुलाब्धि(दे)वः ॥ भाग्यैन(र्य)तः सुकृत-

27 वान् सुरविप्रवर्य्यविश्रामविस्तृतसमस्तविभूतिभेदः । श्रीविश्वनाथचरणार्चनसक(क्त)भक्तिर्मूर्त्यु-[4]

28 जयो जयतु[5] चोडकुलांन(लाब्ध)देवः ॥ श्रीचक्रवर्त्तितनयामिरुगांबिकां यः सूर्यान्व-वायसु-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

29 क्तैकफलं सुयोलां(लाम्) ॥ (1) पिनुंडिभूपसद्मजां ललनाललामभाग्योन्नतामुदवह-[द्विरि]ञ्चामिवेशः ॥

30 श्रीवीरभद्रनृपतिर्भुवनैकवीरो यस्यात्मजत्वमगमद्विम(वं)शदीपः । सोयं विनिर्जित-ममस्तवि-

31 रोधिभूपो जागर्त्ति चोडकुलमंडनमंन(मव)देवः ॥ येनैव भूविदितमल्लिलसोन्नि सर्वान्विजित्य दक्षि-

32 णादिगीश्वरवैरिभूपान् । तत्पट्टनावरणमध्यगताय नम्रास्त्रस्त्र(स्त्रं)चिता दशसहस्रमिता विपच्चाः [॥*]

[1] Read 'गचितार्थ.' [2] Read 'पदार्थ.'

[3] The Telugu numeral figure 3 indicating the number of the plate is inscribed between the letters *dē* and *va*.

[4] The *anusvāra* is inscribed at the beginning of the next line.

[5] The syllable *ta* is written below the line.

33 अध्वर्युभूतपितर्युडिनृपेण येन श्रीगौतमी निकटकांक[ऊ]पत्तिवेद्यां । आलभ्य कंन-
(कव)डमुखा[रि]-

34 पशूनकारि वीराध्वरो निजसुहृत्परिरक्षणायै(य) ॥ पादांबुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंश:[1] कीर्त्ये-
कवक्ष-

35 लतया समरक्षि येन । सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षादीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकु-

36 लांन(लाव)देव: ॥ यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीमनदेवभूपे सर्वोपसर्गरहिता मनुजास्व-
दैव । पूर्णेन्दुकान-

37 नतरूषु मुदा रमंते नित्ये(त्यो)त्सवो विजयतेयसुदारतेजा: ॥ यद्देश एव वितते भुवने
सुपक्वशाखा-

38 दिसख्यभरिते सहकारसांद्रे । सर्वोपसर्गरहिते सुकृतैकगम्ये(म्ये) खेलंति नूनममरा
मनुजावता-

39 रा: ॥ यद्देशमौक्तिमणिमुख्यडिंडीरवारं नानादिगागतमहार्घणिजां निवासं(सम्) ।
शंखाद्यनेकनिधि-

40 नित्यनिवासभूमिं मत्वा श्रियेव धनदोभजदीशसख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥ षट्कालपूजितसदाशिव-
पादपद्मो नित्यं-

41 न(त्याव)दाननियमार्चितभूमिदेव: । गोराजकेतनसमर्पितगोमहस्रो विभ्राजते विमलवंश-
भवोन(वोत्त)दे-

42 व: ॥ नित्यं गिरीशचरणावरणोद्यादिवेक(का)सु षट्स्वपि सुदायुतसंख्यदीपै: ।
नीराजयन्विम-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

43 ऊचोडकुलांन(लाव)देवो जागर्ति राजपरमेश्वर एष भूम्यां(म्याम्) ॥ चामीकरव्यज-
नचामरकेतुमुक्ताच्छ-

44 [त्रां]कहेमललनांकितसप्तभौमं(मम्) । सौवर्णमिंदुमुकुटाय सम[प्यं] कां[तां(तं) सौधं]
समुन्न-

45 मति चोडकुलांन(लाव)देव: ॥ माधुर्यसुख्यरसषट्टविलासिसृष्टनित्यांन(त्याव)दानविभवापह-
तच्छ[धा]र्ति । [शै]-

[1] The letter va in vamśa is written above the line.

46 वह्निजेंद्रजटियोगिकुलं प्रहृष्टं यत्पट्टने विजयतामयमंन(मव)देवः ॥ श्रीगौतमीनिकट-

47 पहेमवीरभद्रप्रांत हजेंद्रनिकराय गवां सहस्रं(स्रम्) । दत्वा(त्त्वा)य तत्तुषमसौ मथितं किञ्चादाधो-

48 डांन(डाव)देवनृपतिर्ज्वलधिं(धीं)य मप्त ॥ येनाखिऊामपि धरां म सुराद्रिमुख्यामु-
त्तप्तकांचनमयां(यीं)

49 ददता द्विजेभ्यः । भूमावदः पटु जितः किऊ जामदग्न्यश्चोडांन(डाव)देवरघुनायक
एव भाति ॥

50 येनैव[1] गोमुखगिरीश्वरवीरभद्रदेवालयो मक्षितर्हममयः क्षतोभूत् । श्रीकाग्निकाधि-

51 पतये कुलदेवतायै यामाय विरूपतय[2] ममदायि येन ॥ सौवर्णमात्मकुलशेखरचोड-
वंश[द्रा]-

52 चादिरामपुरभीमयसौधशृंगं(गम्) । चांद्रस्वलीमकुटरत्नमकारि येन चोडांन(डाव)देव-
धरणीतऊनाय[केन] ॥

53 येयं ससद्दिमष्ठिनांद्दिममाख्यदेशे चोडांन(डाव)देववरमुत्तमगंडपूर्व(र्वम्) । गंगातटे
भुवनविस्मृत-[3]

54 पिंन(पिव)सानिसंगेन(गेऽव)देवनृपतिर्द्विजसादकर्षीत्[4] ॥ पञ्चरिंगेलवरपश्चिमसीम्नि गंगा-
तीरेंन(रेऽव)देववरला-

55 ववत्ता[5]यहारः । पृष्ठेन येन ममदायि महाजनेभ्यश्चोडांन(डाव)देवधरणीपतिरेष भाति ॥
येनो-

56 भयान्वयविनिर्मऊविप्रवर्या विद्यौन(द्योव)ता विधिवदुद्दहनं प्रपीताः । सूर्यान्वय(वा)य-
तिलक[केन च]

Fifth and Sixth Plates missing.

Seventh Plate; First Side.

1 भारद्वाजकुलार्णवपूर्णसुधा(धा)रश्मिरवनिपतिमिवं [।*] श्रीकूचनार्य्यतनयः शिं(सिं)गयना-

2 मा द्विजेन्द्र इह भागी ॥29॥ [कौ]डिन्य[6]गोत्राब्जिसुधामयूखः कीवूरिरामात्मज-
रामचंद्रः । चा-

3 चारवा[7]गामतत्व(त्त्व)दर्शी भागीह सत्संजयपादभक्तः ॥30॥ कौंडिन्यगोत्रांबुजसूर्य्यते-

[1] The Telugu numeral figure 4 denoting the number of the plate preceded by a vertical stroke is inscribed here between the letters m and g.

[2] Read विरूपतयै.

[3] Read विस्मृत.

[4] Read द्विजसादकार्षीत्.

[5] Read नामभद्रा.

[6] Read कौंडिन्य.

[7] Read चाचारवात्मजम.

4 ज्ञा[:] श्रीभास्कर[:] श्रीनृहरिस्तनूजः । सांगागमे संचितकीर्त्तिरत्र भागी सदाचा-
रवतां वरेण्यः ॥[1*]31।

5 श्री[का]चिभट्टतनयः काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णेन्दिमरश्मिः । नारायणोत्र भागी ज्योतिः-
शास्त्रैकमर्म-

6 तत्त्व[त्त्व]ज्ञः [1*]॥32॥[1*] श्रीगूडपर्त्तिवल्लभतनयः श्रीयोभट्टेंद्रनामात्र । भागी
काश्यपगोत्रः पुण्यात्मा-

7 र्गचंद्रमा विद्वान् ॥33॥ आत्रेयगोत्रतिलको वि[द्व]यनामद्विजातिवरसूनुः । यजुरर्ण-
वचन्द्रयशा

8 वरदयनामात्र भागवान्विप्रः [1*]॥34॥[1*] श्रीरामादिमसिं(सिं)गयतन[यो] गंगाधर-
द्रविप्रेंद्रः [1*]

9 कौंडिन्यगोत्रपात्रं भागी यजुषां निधानमित्र पुण्यः [1*]॥35॥[1*] श्रीगौरयविप्रेश्वर-[1]
तनय[:] श्री-

10 [सिं]गनाम्नयो विद्वान् । भारद्वाजकुलांबुजभानुयशा भागवानत्र ॥36॥ आदित्यावलि-
देवप्रि-

11 यतनयो हरितवंशपद्मार्कः । यजुषमणिरत्नाकरतनुजः पुरुषो(षो)त्तमोत्र लब्धांशः
[1*]॥37॥[1*]

12 चिंणिपिकुचयभूसुरनंदनो हरितवंशमहार्णवचंद्रमाः । सकलशास्त्रार्थ(र)ज्ञविद्-

13 शवानिह हि तन्नयनाम सुधीश्वरः [1*]॥38॥[1*] कौंडिन्यवंशार्णवचंद्रमूर्त्ति[:*]
श्रीयंन(यज्ञ)माख्यासु-

14 रनंदनोत्र [1*] विश्वेश्वरो याजुषभाग्यदेवं लब्धांशवानत्र मतां वरेण्यः [1*]॥39॥[1*]
गोपाऽभट्ट[ात्म]ज एव

15 पुण्यः श्रीयंन(यज्ञ)माख्यो हरितान्ववायः । ज्योतिर्विदग्रेसरकीर्त्तिरत्र लब्धांशवानागमपार-
ङ्गता [1*]॥40॥

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

16 मुंजपिगंगाधरवरतनय[:*] कौंडिन्यवंशवार्धी[धौ]दुः [1*] अन्नय[नामा भागी यजु]षां
निधिरत्र सं-

17 मताचारः [1*]॥41॥[1*] श्रीभारद्वाजान्वयवल्लभधरणीसुरात्मजः पुण्यः । लक्ष्मणनामा
विप्रो वेदविद[द्](विद)-

[1] The letter ra is inscribed below the line just under śra and tra.
[2] Read कौण्डिन्य.°

18 चांशवान्यः [1*]42[1*] मादप्पुलविबुधवरो वल्लभाद्दयाजभानुमाम्पुष्पः । कांडि'न्य-
वंशतिल-

19 को भागी वेदैकमूर्त्तिरिह साधुः [1*]43[1*] श्रीमद्भागवविद्वत्तनयो निगमैक-
मूर्त्तिरिह भागी । दंडि-

20 गडनागनामा काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णिमाचंद्रः [1*]44[1*] श्रीराजुकोंडमल्लयतनयः[1*]
श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनाख्या-

21 नः । काश्यपगोत्रपवित्रो भागी निखिलागमैकतत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]45[1*] मंडुगूरि[2] लक्ष-
नाख्यो मान्यो विदुषां समस्तज्ञा-

22 स्त्रज्ञः । भारद्वाजकुलार्णवचंद्रो भागीह वेदतत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [1*]46[1*] कोलनपल्लिपुरा-
दिमग्गि(गि)गयतनयो य-

23 ज्ञनिधिः पुण्यः । श्रीकृष्णद्विजनामा काश्यपगोत्रा(त्रो) ग्रहीतभागोत्र [1*]47[1*]
श्रीकंदुकूरियोभक्ततन-

24 यः[1*] श्रीरामनामात्र भागी [1*] याजुषमणिगणजलधिह(र्हे)रितान्वयावतंसयशाः
[1*]48[1*] श्रीकृष्णम-

25 त्यतनया[3] यजुराकरबुद्धिरमितगुणकांतिः । श्रीमानंतनामा भागी श्रीवत्सवंशवार्धींदुः
[1*]49[1*]

26 श्रीभारद्वाजकुलो देवयधरणीसुराब्जः पुण्यः । श्रीभक्तनामा भागी यजुरध्ययनैकशुद्ध-
बुद्धिरि-

27 ह [1*]50[1*] श्रीमर्षदेवतनयाय जनार्दनाय कांडिन्य[4]गोत्रतिलकाय महाजनेंद्राः ।
ते सर्व एव म-

28 मुदीरितशासनाय स्वीयैकभागमहशं व्यतरन्निहांशं(शम्) [1*]51[1*] भक्त्या कलज-
ऽऽकोम्मराजतनयेनाच

29 प्रतिष्ठ(ष्ठा)पितश्रीकेदारमहेश्वराय महसे श्रीमाधवेन द्विजाः । सर्वे ते स्थिरभागमे-
कमदुराचंद्रार्कमा-

30 [तारकं][5] [आसा]दित् भोगभाग्यसुषमा[स्थै]र्याय कौतूहलात् [॥52॥*]

[1] Read कौंडिन्य.°

[2] Read मडुगूरि.°

[3] Read तनयो. The Telugu numeral figure 7 denoting the number of the plate is inscribed at the beginning of the line.

[4] Read कौंडिन्य.°

[5] [I would read the portion as : -ô-chandr-ârkkamârkkâmôdaj-âravîśvar-(śêm?) ôdita-śêṣa-bhôgyu etc.—N. L. R.]

vii,b.



No. 3.—RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASATUNGA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Nagpur.

Rājim is a well-known holy place, 28 miles south by east of Raipur, the head-quarters of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahānadī at the junction of the Pairi with that river. A fair is held there for a fortnight from the full-moon day of Māgha in honour of the god Rājīvalōchana. The principal temples at Rājim are those of Rājīvalōchana, Rāmachandra and Kulēśvara. They have been described in detail by Mr. Beglar and General Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 148-56 and Vol. XVII, pp. 6-20, respectively. Mr. Cousens[1] and Mr. Longhurst[2] who visited the place in 1903 and 1907 have also written notes on them in their respective Progress Reports.

As early as 1825 Mr. Richard Jenkins, who was Resident at Nagpur, drew attention to three inscriptions at Rājim, of which he sent eye-copies and facsimiles to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal[3]. One of these was the copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva, which has since been edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. The remaining two were stone inscriptions, one of which, *viz.*, that of Jagapāla, was later on edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. The third inscription has, however, remained unpublished so far. Jenkins had sent a copy and a facsimile of this record also to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but as 'it was too much mutilated to be decipherable with any degree of satisfaction[4]', no transcript of it was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV which contained transcripts, imperfect of course, of the other two. The inscription was, for the first time, very briefly noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India* for 1903-04, p. 48. He drew attention to the names of the princes Andapānala[5] Pṛithvīrāja, Vīrūparāṭ and Vilāsatuṅga and of the *Sūtradhāra* Durgahastin and stated that the inscription recorded the erection of a temple of Vishṇu. He, further, assigned the record to about the middle of the 8th century A. D. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*[6], but he, for the first time, correctly read the name of the king Nala in line 6. Owing presumably to its mutilated condition, the inscription has so far received little attention[7], but as it is the only stone record of the Nala dynasty found in the Central Provinces, I edit it here from the original stone, Cunningham's facsimile[8] and inked estampages taken under my supervision.

Like the aforementioned inscription of Jagapāla, the present record is incised on a slab of stone which is built into the left hand wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājīvalōchana. The record contains 22 lines and at present covers a space 3' 8" broad and 1' 4" high. Some *aksharas* have, however, been lost on the right and left sides under the lime border.

[1] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 24 ff.

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. E. C.* for 1907-08, p. 35.

[3] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 501 and 511.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have wrongly read *śrīyuta-andapānala iti* instead of *śrīyutō nripō Nala iti* in line 6. These words were for the first time correctly read by R. B. Hiralal.

[6] First ed. (1916), p. 103; second ed. (1932), p. 112. Hiralal read the word Pāṇḍava in line 4, which, if correct, would connect this family with the Sōmavaṁśis. But I do not find it anywhere in this record.

[7] Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, while editing the Poḍāgaḍh inscription, remarked that that was 'the first stone record of the Nala dynasty' discovered till then (above, Vol. XXI, p. 155).

[8] *A. S. I.*, Vol. XVII, plate IX.

This was the state of things even in Cunningham's time, but since then the lime border has made further encroachments so that some *aksharas* on either side, which appear clear in his facsimile, have since become invisible. The writing has, again, suffered considerably in the middle and specially on the proper left. Besides, as several letters have now become choked up with oily dust, the inscription does not yield a satisfactory estampage. I have, therefore, mainly relied on Cunningham's facsimile which is quite clear though somewhat touched up by hand[1]. I have, however, checked some doubtful readings by a personal examination of the original record.

The **characters** are of the proto-Nāgarī type resembling those of the Sīrpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna[2]. The stroke of the medial *ā* is often placed on the top of letters see *pāda-* and *tasy-ādhā*—both in l. 6, and *śrī-hāri* in l. 15; *kh* has two forms, one in which the right limb contains a loop and the other in which it is without it, see *e. g.*, *dukkha-*, l. 15 and *saukhy-*, l. 3; *j* is generally tripartite; in some places its upper bar is reduced to a wedge as at the top of other letters, but the central bar has not completely bent down, see *dvija-*, l. 3 and *vijay-*, l. 12; *p* is open at the top as in *vapushā* l. 5; *y* is throughout bipartite, see *śriyam-*, l. 4; in its subscript form the letter has an elongated rectangular shape as in the aforementioned Sirpur stone inscription; the right limb of *l* is not brought down as in the proper Nāgarī alphabet; *d* and *r* have developed serifs at their lower ends, while *h* is without a tail, see *vadanti* and *alpa-sāraṁ*, both in l. 14 and *vihitā* in l. 18; a final consonant is indicated by an encircling curve in *bhāvāt*, l. 14 and by a slanting stroke at the bottom as in *upārjanīyam*, l. 14. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed metrically throughout. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. The **orthography** exhibits the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of *v* for *b*, see *chandr-ārkka-* and *Vali-*, both in l. 5.

The inscription is one of a king, probably Vilāsatuṅga, of the Nala dynasty. The **object** of it is to record the construction, by the king, of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. It opens, as might be expected, with some verses invoking the blessings of that god. There are as many as five verses of this type, of which the first is almost completely lost. The fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari (Vishṇu) and Lakshmī, while the fifth describes the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu. Verse 6 which is partly defaced apparently glorifies a royal family[3] which by means of *double entendre* is compared with the sun. The next verse describes Nala as one who had surpassed the god of love by his splendid form and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the bee-like crest-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. This Nala is plainly the well-known legendary king of that name glorified in the *Mahābhārata*. The record next proceeds to describe, in verses 8 and 9, Pṛithvīrāja who, like the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā), was venerated by all people and was, like Māndhātṛi, created by God as He found the world tainted by the attack of the Kali age. Verses 10-12 are devoted to the glorification, equally conventional, of Pṛithvīrāja's son Virūparāja. Verse 14 mentions Vilāsatuṅga who was probably a son[4] of Virūparāja. The next three verses (15-17) were probably devoted to his praise, but they are very badly mutilated. It was pro-

[1] The facsimile is misleading in a few places. See for instance *agrī* in l. 16 and *purushēṇa* in l. 18, which cannot be read as such from the facsimile, but are clear in my estampage.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[3] Some word like *vaṁśaḥ* is lost at the end of line 5.

[4] No word specifying this relation occurs in the extant portion, but the word *vilāsinaḥ* in the ablative or genitive case in verse 14 probably refers to Virūparāja.

bably this king Vilāsatuṅga who erected the excellent and lofty temple of Viṣṇu[1] which is described in verses 19-22. This is followed by the usual prayer to future rulers to preserve the religious monument and the hope that it would last for ever. The *praśasti*, as the inscription is called in verse 28, was composed probably by Durgagōla. It was incised by the artisan (*Sūtradhāra*) Durgahastin, son of Jalahastin.

The inscription is not dated[2], but on palaeographic grounds it was considered to be not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D. by Cunningham[3] and was referred to about the middle of the 8th century by D. R. Bhandarkar.[4] As stated before, its characters resemble those of the Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna at Sirpur. I have stated elsewhere[5] the evidence on which I place Tīvaradēva in *circa* A.D. 530-550 and his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The Nala kings mentioned in the present inscription seem to have established themselves in the Raipur District some time after Mahā-Śivagupta. It may, therefore, not be wrong to assign the present record to about A.D. 700.

Until recently the Nala dynasty was known only from references to them in the Aihoḷe inscription[6] of Pulakēśin II and some records[7] of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. In the former, Kīrtivarman I, the father of Pulakēśin, is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Dr. Fleet thought that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellāry and Karnūl, because a copper-plate inscription from the Karnūl District records the grant, by Vikramāditya I of the Early Chālukya dynasty, of the village Ratnagiri in the Naḷavāḍi-*viṣaya*, which according to Dr. Fleet, is identical with the modern Ratnāgiri in the Maḍakśirā *tālukā* of the Bellāry District.[8] The discovery of the Rithapur plates of Bhavadattavarman[9] showed that the Nalas had extended their sway, for a time at least, to the ancient Vidarbha. These plates are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They were issued from Nandivardhana which I have shown elsewhere[10] to have been the Vākāṭaka capital before the foundation of Pravarapura. The occupation of this important city in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory points to the conclusion that the Nalas had invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and established themselves for a time in Vidarbha. This is again confirmed by the statement in the Bālāghāṭ plates that the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II raised his sunken family.[11] He seems to have driven out the Nalas from Vidarbha and to have even carried the war into the enemy's territory.

[1] Verse 20 shows that the king built the temple for the increase of the religious merit of his son who had died.

[2] Beglar thought that the inscription contained two dates—one 870 or 879 and the other seven hundred and odd, the units and tens being mutilated, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 152, but this is wholly incorrect. What Beglar supposed to be the figures 870 or 879 is only the word *śāśvatā* in l. 22.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

[4] *P. R. A. S. W. I.*, for 1903-04, p. 48.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 18 ff. and Vol. XXIII, p. 118.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

[7] See, for instance, the Kauthēm grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 15.

[8] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 363. The Naḷavāḍi-*viṣaya* is also mentioned in the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 614. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff.

[9] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff. The king's name appears wrongly as Bhavattavarman in this inscription.

[10] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 210 ff.

[11] Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription[1] states that Bhavadattavarman's son restored the glory of his family and re-settled the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy. This enemy was probably none other than the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription points to the south-eastern portion of Mahākōsala, comprising the Bastar State and the adjoining Jeypore Agency, as the home of the Nalas. The *Purāṇas* also state that the Nalas ruled over Kōsalā[2] which must be taken to mean Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Mahākōsala. No predecessors of Bhavadatta were so far known, but recently in 1939 a hoard of gold coins of the Nala dynasty was discovered at the village Eḍeṅgā in the Koṇḍagāon *tahsil* of the Bastar State.[3] This hoard comprised coins of three kings, viz., Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. It seems that Varāha preceded Bhavadatta who was himself followed by Arthapati. From the Rithapur plates we know that Arthapati was a son of Bhavadattavarman.[4] He evidently succeeded Bhavadatta and ruled for a time in Vidarbha, but was ultimately driven out by Pṛithivishēṇa II. Skandavarman,[5] another son of Bhavadatta, is known from the Poḍāgaḍh inscription. He rehabilitated the fortune of his family as stated above.

As Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman were thus contemporaries of Narēndrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa II, they must have ruled in the south-eastern part of Mahākōsala in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Drug, Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which lay to the north of their territory, were held by the kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty; for their inscriptions have been found at Āraṅg,[6] Khariar,[7] Raipur,[8] Sāraṅgarh[9] and Sirpur.[10] These kings at first ruled from Śarabhapura, but subsequently their capital was shifted to Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, about 35 miles north by east of Rājim in the Raipur District. This dynasty was overthrown by the Early Sōmavaṁśīs.[11] As I have shown elsewhere,[12] Udayana, the founder of this dynasty was ruling in Central India, for a stone inscription found at Kūlaṅjar records his construction of a temple of Vishṇu evidently at Kālaṅjara. He or his sons seem to have invaded Mahākōsala probably during a campaign of their Maukhari suzerain Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman. Inscriptions of Udayana's grandson Īśānadēva and great-grandson Tīvaradēva

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

[2] Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

[3] For a detailed account of this hoard, see my article in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. I, pp. 29 ff.

[4] The editor of the Rithapur plates took Arthapati mentioned towards the close of the record as an epithet (meaning 'the lord of wealth') of Bhavadatta himself, but this is incorrect. See *loc. cit.* p. 33.

[5] The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5 of the Poḍāgaḍh inscription is partly mutilated. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman, but the subscript members of the ligatures *sk* and *nd* are not clear and it may be suggested, in view of the close similarity in the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of the period, that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading *Śrī-Arthavarmmanā* in place of *Śrī-Skandavarmmanā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha or Arthavarman. I therefore take this prince to be different from Arthapati.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 196 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff. and Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

[10] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

[11] Hiralal was of opinion that the Sōmavaṁśīs preceded the kings of Śarabhapura, but this view is not correct, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 3.

[12] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.

have been found in the Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which were previously under the rule of the kings of Śarabhapura. These Early Sōmavaṁśīs ruled from Śrīpura. It has been already stated that a copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva has been found at Rājim itself. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and record the king's grant of the village Pimparipadraka in the Pēṭhāma-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa. It has been doubted whether this inscription belongs to Rājim at all,[1] for neither of the two places mentioned in it was identified in the vicinity of Rājim. But such a doubt can no longer be entertained; for the village Pimparipadraka is evidently Pipṛōd which lies only 3 miles north-west of Rājim.[2] The Sōmavaṁśīs continued to rule in Chhattīsgarh for some generations after Tīvaradēva; for copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna have been found at Mallār[3] in the Bilāspur District and at Sirpur and Āraṅg in the Raipur District.[4] It is not known how long their rule lasted in Chhattīsgarh, for the later records of the dynasty have been found far away to the east in the Sambalpur and Cuttack Districts of Orissa and the Pāṭnā and Sonepur States in the Eastern States Agency.[5] A stone inscription at Āraṅg mentions Raṇakēsarin who was probably a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta[6] and another at Sirpur names Śivanandi as a son of the same king,[7] but it is not known if either of them came to the throne. The present inscription shows that the Sōmavaṁśīs were ultimately ousted from Chhattīsgarh by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings.

The Aihoḷe inscription shows that the Nalas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kīrtivarman I some time in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. As stated before, this Chālukya king is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. It seems, however, that the Nalas, like the Mauryas,[8] were not totally exterminated. Like other princes of Kōsala and Kaliṅga,[9] they must have submitted to Pulakēśin II also, but they found a favourable opportunity for expansion when the Chālukyan kingdom was overrun by the Pallavas at the end of Pulakēśin's reign. They invaded the country of their northern neighbours, the Sōmavaṁśīs, whom they drove to the east. The present inscription mentions three Nala princes, Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga. None of these names is known from any other record and their exact relation to the successors of Bhavadattavarman cannot be determined.

The history of Mahākōsala during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. is still shrouded by a thick veil of obscurity. We do not therefore know how long the rule of Nalas lasted in this territory. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli about 12 miles north of Ratanpur records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. I have elsewhere[10] shown this Vikramāditya to be Vikramāditya I of the Bāṇa dynasty, who was a son of Malladēva. He was also

[1] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 25.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 116, n. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 49-50.

[5] See the tabular statement above, Vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.

[6] Hiralal has shown that Raṇakēsarin mentioned in the Āraṅg inscription was a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna, above, Vol. XI, p. 185.

[7] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 49.

[8] The Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkaṇ till the reign of Pulakēśin II at least, see verses 20 and 21 of the Aihoḷe inscription.

[9] See verse 26 of the Aihoḷe inscription.

[10] *Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress.*

called Jayamēru and Bāṇa-Vidyādhara[1] and flourished from *circa* A.D. 870 to 895. No other inscription of the Bāṇas has been discovered anywhere else in the Central Provinces. Hence we cannot say if they had extended their sway to the Raipur District in the south-west. In any case the rule of the Nalas must have ended towards the close of the 9th century when the Kalachuri Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhādhavala, the son of Kōkalla I, conquered the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala[2].

We have seen above that the present inscription records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu. The temple where the inscribed slab is set up at present is also dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Rājīvalōchana (lotus-eyed). The image worshipped in it is made of black stone and is a common representation of Vishṇu with the usual symbols of the mace, the discus, the conch and the lotus. As Cunningham has shown[3], the temple is built on a peculiar plan, its most striking features being the shape of the *maṇḍapa* which is oblong instead of square and the sculptures on the pilasters which are large single figures, like those on Buddhist stūpa railings, instead of clusters of small figures as is usual in Brahmanical temples. This plan is evidently old and so the inscription is *prima facie* in its original position. Cunningham referred the construction of the temple to the 5th century A.D. on the supposition that the copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva refers to it. This, of course, is incorrect; for the plates merely record the gift of a village to a Brāhmaṇa and have no connection with the temple. Cousens drew attention to the fact that in plan the Rājīvalōchana temple at Rājim is a copy of the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur[4]. Of the latter temple he found only the *garbhagṛiha* standing, while the *maṇḍapa* was in ruins. Relying on the statement of some people of Sirpur[5] that several pillars and other sculptures had been taken from there to Rājim, Cousens suggested that the pillars, pilasters, door-frames and some sculptures used in the Rājīvalōchana temple were brought from Sirpur and that the ruined temple of Lakshmaṇa was rifled for the purpose. He thought that the slab containing the present inscription also possibly came from the Lakshmaṇa temple and recorded its erection[6]. As stated before, when Cousens visited Sirpur the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakshmaṇa temple was in ruins. He recommended its fallen debris to be removed. When this was done, a large inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna was disclosed in it. This record has since been edited by R. B. Hiralal in this journal[7]. It registers the construction of a temple of Vishṇu by Vāsaṭā, the mother of Mahā-Śivagupta. It is therefore plain that the present inscription could not have originally belonged to the Sirpur temple. Unfortunately it mentions no place-name which could have decided its original position indisputably. But it is inconceivable that a king who prays to future rulers for the preservation of his own religious monument would rifle a similar edifice of a past king to obtain ready made building materials[8]. It does not also seem likely that the Sirpur temple

[1] See Gudimallam plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

[2] See verse 23 of the Bilhari stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 256 and verse 12 of the Benares plates of Karṇa, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 306.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 9.

[4] *J. B. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 24. For the plans of the two temples, see *A. S. I. R.* Vol. XVII, plates V and XV with corrections in the latter pointed out by Cousens, *loc. cit.* Though the temple at Sirpur is now called the temple of Lakshmaṇa, it was originally dedicated to Vishṇu, see below.

[5] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 41.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

[7] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[8] It is noteworthy in this connection that the present record describes in verse 22 the trouble and expense that one has to incur in erecting a unique temple.

had fallen in ruins before the Rājīvalōchana temple was constructed; for the interval between the dates of the two records of the Sōmavaṁśī and Nala kings is not more than a century at the most.

We do not know what was the capital of these later Nala kings, but it is not unlikely that like the Sōmavaṁśīs, they retained Sirpur as the seat of government. In that case they must have employed the artisans of that place to construct their temple at Rājim. And it should cause no surprise if the artisans adopted a plan with which they were familiar. This is probably the reason why there is such a close agreement between the plans of the two temples at Rājim and Sirpur. The tower of the Rājīvalōchana temple which, unlike that of the Lakshmaṇa temple, is in the Dravidian style,[1] must have been rebuilt in later times when the original one had fallen down.[2]

TEXT.[3]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 2, 5, 20, 21 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3, 4, 8-12, 15, 22, 24-26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6, 13 *Āryā* ; v. 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 14, 17, 18, 23 *Upajāti* ; vv. 16, 19 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 27, 29 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 28 *Praharshiṇī*.]

1 [॥*] — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡

— —, — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — चरित्रः ।

प्राप्तक्षीणानुप ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —, — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡

◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — [॥१॥*] — — — — ◡ — —

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —, — — —

2 — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — [मारि]च[क्रं(क्रम)] । नि[र्म्मा]प्य

[क्षीरसिन्धुं] ब्यदधद्[म]र[तां] सम्पृच्छ्यः सुराणाम्प्राप्तश्रीर्य्यः स दिश्याच्छ्रियमनुप-

हृतामाशुरप्यूर्ज्जि[तिपन् [6]?] ॥[२॥*] रम्ये धावनमेलह(न ?)प्रविकसद्वीलो[त्पल*]

— ◡ —,[7] — ह्यानुप[मां ◡ — ◡ ◡

[1] It should however be noted that the use of decorative horse-shoe arches is common to the towers of both the temples.

[2] Mr. Longhurst thinks that 'the architecture of the temples at Rājim is clumsy, lacks correct proportion and is painfully modern'. Was the tower of the Rājīvalōchana temple as well as its *maṇḍapa* reconstructed by Jagapāla in the 12th century A.D.? It is to be noted, however, that his inscription built into a wall of the *maṇḍapa* records in line 14 the construction of a *prāsāda* (temple) in honour of Rāma, though it opens with an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa. Perhaps he did not make any distinction between the two. Even now the image in the temple is popularly believed to be that of Rāmachandra. Cousens, however, suggested that the *śāla* was brought over from another temple at Rājim, viz., that of Rāmachandra and set up in this one to lend importance to it. See *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 26.

[3] From Plate IX, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, the original stone and inked estampages.

[4] The record may have opened with an obeisance to Viṣṇu.

[5] The correct grammatical form would be *tyaktakshīṇa-*.

[6] The context requires a reading like *apy=ūrjjitaṁ vaḥ*.

[7] Restore *śyāmalāṁ*.

3 [वराह ?] — ⏑ सौख्योचिताम् । प्रोत्फुल्ला[म्बु(म्बु)]रुहस्थितद्विजव[रां] वि(वि)-भ्रच्छ्रियं सारसीं सन्तापप्रशम(शम)क्षमः स जगतः [शम्भु]र्खायास्तु वः ॥[३॥*] कस्त्वं देवि हरिः सृशस्त्वपसर क्रोडीकृतः कक्षया — — — निपुणा मुख-[प्र] ⏑ ⏑

4 — — क्षतिं सा क्षमा । क्षि(ति ?) वाग्भिर्न [तु] कर्म्मणा प्रकटितं धि[ग्मा ?]श्च का [मे] रतिः सत्यवः स्थियमित्यपास्तरभसां स्थिथन्प्रभुः पातु वः ॥[४॥*] शौर्य्यच्छैलेन्द्रशृङ्गप्रपतनरभसा[दु]द्यदम्भोधिवीचि[व्या]सङ्ग — [सहे]-लोच्छलदति ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — —

5 ⏑ घोरम् । उच्चैर्य्योगीन्द्रलीलाविरचितवपुषो व्यस्तचन्द्रार्कतारं यस्याभूद्विश्वमध्यात्क्षय इव स व(व)लिश्रीनिहन्ता हरि[र्व्यः] ॥[५॥*] जयति प्रथितमहीभृ[त्तु]ङ्गशिरो-निहितनिजपादः । [नित्यो]दितप्रतापो(पः) [पूर्ण्णा ?]दित्यो[1] [॥६॥*]

6 [श्री*]मोद्दिलासिनिजरूपजितस्मरोपि शान्तात्मनाभुवि सदा सृहणीयवृत्तः । ख्यातो नृपो नल इति प्रथतारिचक्रचूडामणिभ्रमरचुम्बि(म्बि)तपादपद्मः ॥[७॥*] तस्याभूच्चि[त्र*] — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — भूभृतो विन्ध्यस्थे[व*] न[ग][स्य*]

7 — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [रदृ ?]ष्टातिकान्तोन्नतेः । पृथ्वीराज इति क्रमोपचयिनीं वि(वि)भ्र-च्छ्रियं निर्म्मलां सेव्यः सर्व्वजनस्य पापविगमाद्देवाप्रवाह्योपमः ॥[८॥*] — — [2] व जुगुप्सितः [स]म[गुणैः ?] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —, — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ व[र्षे]र्योतस्य यो धि ⏑ — ।

8 [नि*]श्चिन्त्यातिकलिप्रपातमलिनामालोक्य लोकस्थितिं धाता सर्व्वगुणैः कृतः क्षितिपति[र्भ्रा] —[ह] — — ⏑ मः[3] ॥[९॥*] तस्योर्व्वी[र्ल्लपृथि ?]श्वरव्यति-[करव्याप्तक्ष]कार्य्यो ⏑ —, [मि]त्राणां ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — । [वि*]ख्यातो हिमवानिवा ⏑ ⏑

9 ⏑ दः पुत्रः पतिर्भूभृतां धत्ते नाम विरूपराज इति यो दिग्वन्दिवृन्द[स्तुतम् ॥१०॥*] [रू*]पेणाप्रतिमः [श्रु]तेन च पां[4] सत्यान्वितस्था ⏑ —,[5] [शौर्य्य ?] स्यायतन[श्चयं पर]मिति — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — [गु*]णैर्य्यस्योर्व्वी[मनु] — ⏑ —

[1] Some four *akshara*s like *dhāvō vasishṭh* are lost here. It is curious to note that the name *Śrī-Pārasādītya* in characters of the 8th century A. D. occurs on two pillars of this temple at Rājim, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, Plate X. [The *visarga-sandhi* in the preceding word *-pratāpō* does not justify the proposed reading *Pārasādītya* in the present instance.—B. C. C.]

[2] The last seven *akshara*s of this verse were probably *Māndhātri-rāj-ōpamaḥ*.

[3] The context requires a reading like *śrutēna vimalaḥ*.

[4] Restore *satyāyinām*.

10 ⏑ सकलं कीर्त्तिर्ज्जगद्भ्राम्यते ॥[११॥*] शत्रुघ्नोतिव(व)लेन — ⏑ [मद*]नो द[र्पे]ण कीर्त्या ⏑ —, — ऋषाममनु[र्ब्बु(र्ब्बु)]धः पृथुरणे भीष्मः प्रतापेन च । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —, — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — प्यः कृतः ॥[१२॥*] प्रति[प*]-

11 [र्वी*]दयभाजः सवितुरि — — इमानुरागधरः । . . गपरा [॥१३॥*] विलासिनस्तुङ्गत[मा] ⏑ — —, विलासतुङ्गः ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —। ⏑̲ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —, ⏑̲ — ⏑ — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — — [॥१४॥*] — — [ख*][ड्ग]लताभिघात ⏑ ⏑

12 — [शङ्का]रिछन्दाम्भुवं पश्येमात्र समास्वनेन विजयाधी[शं ?] स्तु[वं ?]तिन्यतः । प — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —, मन्ये धीरपि — ⏑ — ⏑ [वसु ?]धा(धां) कालेन [ना] — ⏑ — [॥१५॥*] [म*]त्वा स्वदे[हान्त]रिते[न] — —, — — ⏑ [वर्ण्य]त्व[मु]धाखि[लानि*]

13 [अ*]त्यस्तमुद्दिश्य विधान[द्द]ष्टदाना(न)क्रिया[भि]र्वेनु सदा एव ॥[१६॥*] यशो[च ?] पि — ⏑ ⏑ भूतलो[के] पु[ना] ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ मेव [राज्ञा]म् । युगस्य य — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —, पूर्त्तम्र[पश्य*]न्ति परं स्मृतिज्ञाः ॥[१७॥*] ⏑̲ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ जे[भ्यः] चातुर्य्यशा[स्त्र ?] ⏑ ⏑ —

14 ⏑ भावात् [।*] धर्म्मस्य मूलं च यशा वदन्ति ⏑̲ — ⏑ [त*]स्मात्सदुपार्जनीयम् ॥[१८॥*] मत्वा चलं जीवितमल्पसारं [बु(बु)द्ध्वा] क्वचित्कीर्त्तनमेव कार्यम् । कीर्त्तिः स्थिरा यस्य स [जी]वलोके तत्पुण्यमूर्त्तिः खि[रजीव] एव [॥१९॥*] — — — — ⏑ राज्ञा दशवदनभुजोल्लि[ख]कै[लास*]-

15 [मू*]ङ्गीशारि [खे]न धात्रा स्फुरदमलसुधा[नि]ष्यन[ष्ये ?]न्दुनेद[म्] । देवस्याशेष-दुःखप्रभवभयनुदः कारितं स्थानमुच्चैर्विष्णोः पुण्याभिवृद्ध्यै [चि]दशजनसुखातिथ्य-भाजः सुतस्य ॥[२०॥*] प्रातर्व्वी[र्व्वी]लार्करोचिर्व्यतिकरविलसच्चारुवामाधराभां वि(वि)भ्राणं भूमिभाजां ⏑ ⏑[1]

[1] The *akshara* lost here and at the beginning of the next line may have been *su-rúpa*.

16 ⏑ [द]ममलं दृश्यते दृष्टिरस्याम् । यद्भूरादेव सिद्धैरपरमतिमहद्भूषणं भूरिधाम्नः पुण्याधारं सुमेरोः शिखरमिव [प]तन्नोलगङ्गाप्रवाहम् ॥[२१॥*] अथे तावदुप-प्रमाण[कर*]णं प्रख्यात — — ⏑ —, क्षेत्रप्राय[मिदं*] व्ययेन महता सम्भा-रसम्या[दनम् ।*]

17 तत्सिद्धेरल[मुक्तु ?]स्य पुनरप्या[भो]गचिन्ता परा लोके सर्व्वललामकीर्त्तनलतामा-यास एवादितः ॥[२२॥*] कर्त्तुर्ब्बरं पालयिता मतो मे पा[स्थं] निरायासमपि-⏑ — — । सर्व्वोत्तिलोभा ⏑ ⏑ — परं यत्तदर्थतां याति ⏑ — पि राज्ञा-(ज्ञाम्) ॥[२३॥*] विध्वस्तैः प ⏑ —

18 ⏑ रेव च पराः पापात्मनां सम्पदः साधूनामपि पूर्व्वपुण्यविहिता दृश्यन्त एवोज्व(ज्ज्व)लाः । तस्माद्धर्म्मफलप्रपञ्चरचितं दृष्ट्वा विचि[त्रं] ⏑ —,[1] [त]त्तत्त्वं पुरुषैर्य[2] येन गुणिना — — ⏑ वि[द्व][म्य*]ति ॥[२४॥*] मत्वैवं स्वशरीरकञ्च क्षतिभि[र्भि]द[द्भि][र*]-

19 [प्र*]क्षिरं लेलालोक ⏑ — ⏑ — सुखमपि प्रत्यूहजालाहतम् । श्रुत्वा शक्र-पुरस्सरा[ख] विभवैः पुण्यात्मभिः सेविताः कार्य्यः कीर्त्त[न*]दानपालनविधौ धर्म्मस्य यत्नः [परः ॥२५॥*] — — —[3] ⏑ विकासिनो मतिम[तां] भासन्ति[4] भाचो(वा) ⏑ —,

20 — — — [यु ?]तदुधमि[कथ ?]धवला — — [ति][5] वक्त्रं[स्थले] । यावद्भव्यवहो वि — क्ति च जगत्तावत्प्रयत्नादिमाङ्कीर्त्तिम्पालयतः प्रिया [नर*]पतेर्न्यासाख्यया स[ज्ञ]नाः ॥[२६*॥] भृत्यो मित्तमप[त्थ] ⏑ [अभू*]त्तस्यैव भूपतेः । दुर्गो-गोल इति — ⏑,[6]

21 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [॥२७॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [तो]न्यमार्गमा[र्थं] विज्ञेया प्रविरचिता प्रशस्ति — —[7]। राज्ञे — ⏑ ⏑ वचना वि[ज्ञा]त-भावा सद्वृत्तेत्यतिमहतादरेण मान्या ॥[२८॥*] जस्तड[स्थि][सु*][ते]नेयं प्रशस्तिः शिल्पशालि[ना] [।*]

22 उत्कीर्णा सूचधारेण [साधुना] दुर्गदत्तिना ॥[२९॥*]

[1] Restore *jagat*.
[2] These *akshara*s are almost clear in the estampage.
[3] This and the next *pâda* must have begun with *yâvat*.
[4] This is incorrect for भासन्ते.
[5] Some word like *vidrâti* is expected here, but the first *akshara* appears like *ha*.
[6] Restore *prâjñah*.
[7] Restore *r=âkhî*.

No. 4.—VENKATAPUR INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA ; SAKA 828.

By R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., Dharwar.

The inscription which is edited here for the first time was copied by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., in the field season of 1926-27 and included in the *List of the Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions copied during the year 1926-27* as No. 82. It is standing on the site of the ruined village **Veṅkaṭāpūr** in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwār District, close to the temple of Veṅkaṭēśa which is a modern construction of within fifty years. The place was visited by me along with the Superintendent for Epigraphy, in 1933-34 and again in 1935-36 when the inscription was examined by me *in situ* and its photograph and fresh impressions were taken under my supervision. I edit the record below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar-like black stone which, being broad at the base, gradually tapers at the top and the inscribed portion measures 2' 10" in length and 11" and 1' 6" in breadth at the top and bottom respectively. The top of the inscribed portion contains two sections one below the other. The first section bears the figure of a *liṅga* while the second has that of a cow and a sucking calf. The height of individual letters ranges between ¾" and 1½".

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets which developed in the Kannaḍa districts of the Bombay Presidency in the 10th century A.D. and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They exhibit round forms as against the antique, square and upright type that characterised the records of Amōghavarsha I[1] and his predecessors. They resemble the writing of the Soraṭūr inscription of Kṛishṇa II dated in Śaka 805[2] and as in that record, the *talekaṭṭu* of the letters is distinctly curved and crescent-like, in contrast with the horizontal straight lines found in the earlier inscriptions. Besides these observations generally applicable to the inscriptions of the early tenth century A.D. which marks the period of transition in the evolution of the Kannaḍa alphabet, the following points may be noted in the **palæography** of the present record :—(1) The initial vowel *i* (*irpatte*, l. 3) is of the archaic type and the initial vowel *e* is used in *Eṛenāya* (l. 16). (2) Among the consonants, only three principal test letters, *viz.*, *j*, *ḥ*, and *l*, are used : *j* is of the later cursive form as in the Naṇḍavāḍige inscription[3] of Śaka 822 (824), cf. *rājādhirāja* (ll. 7-8), *rājyābhi*° (l. 8), *Chandrarēja* (l. 13), etc. The letter *ḥ* is presented throughout in its later cursive form. The letter *l* is used in its cursive form without the inward miniature representation of the principal part of the old square character, but peculiarly enough, it has a *talekaṭṭu* on the right-hand curve which is not met with in any record of this early period : cf. *vallabha* (l. 7), *Beḷvolaṁ* (l. 9), *=oḷkaltanaṁ* (l. 17), etc. In only one case, this letter appears without the *talekaṭṭu*, *viz.*, *sale* (l. 9). (3) The record uses freely the special forms of *n*, *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *n* is used in *-onduttaraṁ* (l. 9), *n-āḷe* (l. 10), *Eṛenāya* (l. 16), etc.. The secondary form of *m* is used in *m-emba* (l. 3), *mahārāja* (l. 7), *māṇāṛumam* (l. 10), etc. For the secondary form of *y*, see *°ttēṛtaneya* (l. 3), *dasamiyuṁ* (l. 6), *ṛiddhiyonda* (l. 9), *Māyirmma* (l. 11), etc. *V* seems to have been written in its special cursive type in one case only, *viz.*, *per-ggāvuṇḍa* (l. 12). *Th* is unusually open at the left top which is curved inside to mark the aspiration : cf. *ṛithuvī* (l. 7). *D* cannot be distinguished from *ḍ* except in one case, *baḷdarappoḍe* (l. 18). The aspirate *ph* is used with a cross stroke on the right curve in *phalaṁ* (l. 23). The Dravidian *ḷ* and *ṛ* are found in ll. 18, 19, 21 and 16 and 20 respectively.

[1] Mantravāḍi inscription : Śaka 787 (above, Vol. VII, p. 198, plate), Sirūr inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, p. 202), Nīlgund inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 96, plate), Soraṭūr inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha, A.D. 869 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 176).

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 206 and plate. [3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 221, and plate in Vol. XI, p. 127.

In regard to **orthography**, the following may be noted. (1) An *anusvāra* preceding a consonant in the body of a word is very often changed into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs, cf. *=onduttara* (l. 9), *Mahāsirivanta* (l.10), etc. (2) Palatal *ś* is substituted by a dental *s*, cf. *Saka . . . sata* (ll. 1-2), *dasami* (l. 5), etc. The **language** is ancient Kannada except the latter half of the imprecatory verse in Sanskrit beginning with *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, in which, it may be noted, *sadā* is written wrongly for *tadā* (ll. 21-22). On the expression *onduttaram*, attention may be drawn to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao's remarks above, Vol. XXI, p. 207. It may be added that a similar expression occurs in another record of Kṛishṇa II from the Mysore province dated in Śaka 835 (in words), Prajāpati, in the following passage : *Akālavarshadēvana vijayarājyam=onduttarōttaram=abhivriddhige saluttire*[1].

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Amōghavarsha** and records the gift of a garden with one thousand creepers at **Māvinuru**, with proprietary rights (*sīmya*), made to **Chandratōja-Bhaṭṭāra**, pupil of Mallikārjuna-Bhaṭṭāra, by **Bagega** when the latter was the *Peggāvuṇḍa* (senior *gāvuṇḍa*) of **Sirivura, Māyirmma** was administering **Muḷgunda-twelve** and **Mahāsirivanta** was governing **Beḷvola-three-hundred** division. It is stated that Mugina Kāḍamma, Eṛenāga, Kuppa and Māda were holding the rights of *akkaltana* (cultivation rights) in the village and that if they were to destroy this gift, they would incur the sin of destroying Vāraṇāsi, the seven crores of ascetics, a tank, a garden and a cow.

The **date** of the gift is given as : **Wednesday, the 10th day of the dark half of Kārtika in the cyclic year Prabhava** falling in the **Śaka year 828** (expired). The year Prabhava fell according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in Śaka 829 (expired) while according to Sewell's *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, it was Śaka 829 (current) *i.e.*, 828 (expired) by the Northern system. In this year *i.e.*, Śaka 828 (expired), the lunar month Śrāvaṇa was intercalated according to both the authorities and the details given in the record fell on Friday, November 14, A.D. 906 in which case, the weekday cited in the record would be a mistake. If Śrāvaṇa were not intercalated, the details would regularly correspond, for the lunar month Āśvina of the *Ephemeris*, to **A.D. 906, October 15, Wednesday.** But, for Prabhava, according to the Southern system (Śaka 829, expired), the date corresponded to A.D. 907, November 3, Tuesday; **73.**

From the title Amōghavarsha borne by the king, the date and the alphabet of the record, it is evident that this inscription is a **Rāshṭrakūṭa** document. The *biruda* was assumed by more than one king of the family and the earliest of them was Nṛipatuṅga Amōghavarsha I to whose reign the present inscription will naturally have to be assigned. But this possibility is precluded by the date Śaka 828 which falls right towards the close of his son Kṛishṇa's reign, which, according to the Hirebidri inscription[2], began in Śaka 800, the latest known **date for his father being** Śaka 799, Phālguṇa, śu. 10 (March, A.D. 878)[3]. If it is not a mistake on the part of the copyist-scribe or the engraver, we have to presume that Kṛishṇa II also bore, like his father, the *biruda* Amōghavarsha

During the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Beḷvola-three-hundred was held by a succession of Governors *viz.*, Dēvaṇṇayya, in A.D. 866,[4] 869,[5] 872[6] and Śaka 793, Vijaya (=probably A.D. 873)[7] Maṅgaṭōraṇa in A.D. 893[8] and Mahāsirivanta in A.D. 901,[9] 907[10] and 918.[11] It is not certain

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sorab, 88.

[2] Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 100 of 1935-36.

[3] This is the date of completion of the *Jayadhavalaṭīkā* of Vīrasēna during the reign of Amōghavarsha I.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 246 of 1928-29.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 20 of 1926-27.

[7] B. K. No. 140 of 1926-27.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1926-27.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 60 of 1926-27.

[10] The Venkaṭāpūr inscription under publication (*ibid.*, No. 82 of 1926-27).

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 184 of 1932-33.

whether these officers were related to each other as father and son and inherited the governorship as an ancestral estate or were appointed there from time to time like the governors of a province in modern days. From the Hebbāḷ inscription of Śaka 896 (A.D. 975),[1] it is learnt that the district was presented to the Gaṅga king Būtuga II as *baḷiyaḷi* (dowry) at the time of his marriage with the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Amōghavarsha III Baddēga. It was subject to the Gaṅga power since then as can be gathered from the Rōṇ inscription[2] of A.D. 942 and the Kurtakōṭi inscription[3] of A.D. 946 where the Gaṅga prince is called the *bāvēr* (brother-in-law) of Kṛishṇa III. The Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III and Būtuga II dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50)[4] states, however, that Kṛishṇa III was pleased with the valour of Būtuga displayed in the killing of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya in the battle of Takkōlam and granted to him as reward the districts of Banavāse, Purigere, Beḷvola, Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu. This would show that Būtuga was dispossessed of his hold over the Beḷvola district in the interval between A.D. 946 and A.D. 949-55. But the circumstances under which this event must have happened are not apparent. It is not unlikely that his elder brother Rāchamalla called Rachyāmalla in the Dēōlī plates[5] of Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 940) by ousting whom from Gaṅgavāḍi, Būtuga had been placed on the throne, attempted to regain his power and wrested from him a portion of the territory including Beḷvola some time after A.D. 946. Būtuga must have sought the assistance of his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa III and with his help killed Rāchamalla. This latter incident is mentioned in the subsidiary inscription on the top of the Ātakūr stone[6] dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50) as an event of recent occurrence and so must have happened before the battle of Takkōlam so that Kṛishṇa III could present Būtuga the districts mentioned above. Perhaps on the death of Rāchamalla, the territory including Beḷvola was formally annexed by Kṛishṇa III as an overlord and victor, to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom so that he could grant it to Būtuga in token of his services at the Takkōlam battle. Beḷvola was held by Mārasiṁha II in A.D. 970[7] and after the subversion of the family by the Western Chāḷukyas in about A.D. 975, it passed to the family of Kannapa and Śōbhanarasa the officers of the Western Chāḷukyas.[8]

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Beḷvola-three-hundred** is the well-known district comprising portions of the modern Gadag, Rōṇ and Navalgund taluks of the Dhārwār District. **Muḷgunda-twelve** was named after Muḷgund the modern village of that name in the Gadag taluk. **Māvinuru** where the gift was made I am not able to trace. This is perhaps identical with Māvinūru at which, according to the Konnūr inscription, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted to the Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkēya at Koḷanūra. Kielhorn, who edited the record, has identified this village with the modern Mannoor 8 miles east by south of Konnūr.[9]

TEXT.[10]

1 ॐ Svasti [||*] **Sa(Śa)ka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṁ-**
2 **vatsara-sa(śa)tamgaḷ-eṇṭunūṟa**
3 **irppatteṇṭaneya**[11] **Prabhavam**-emba va-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.
[2] B. K. No. 175 of 1926-27.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 126 of 1926-27.
[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.
[5] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.
[6] Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.
[7] B. K. Nos. 21 and 149 of 1926-27.
[8] See above, Vol. XX, pp. 65 f.
[9] Above, Vol. VI, p. 28.
[10] From the ink-impression and original stone.
[11] The letter *ya* is engraved below the line in small character.

4 tisham pravarttise [|*] tad-varshābhya-
5 ntara **Kārttikā(ka)-māsa bahula dasa(śa)-**
6 **miyum Budhavārad**-andu [Sva*]sty-**Amōgha-**
7 **varsha** pṛithuvī-vallabham mahārājādhi-
8 rāja paramēsva(śva)ra bhaṭṭārara rājyābhi-
9 vṛiddhiy-onduttaram sale **Beḷvolam mū-**
10 **nūrumam Mahāsirivantan**-ū[e **Mu-**
11 **ḷgundu(da) pannerāḍumam Māyirmmam**-ū[e **Si-**
12 **rivurake Bagega** perggāvuḍam-āguttire
13 **Mallika**(kā)rjuna-Bhaṭṭārara śishyar-**Chandratēja-**
14 **Bhaṭṭārargge Māvinurol**-Bagega[nu] koṭṭam
15 sāvira(ra) ba[]iya tōṭada sāmyana Mugina
16 Kāḍanumanum Eṛenāganum Kuppanum Māda-
17 num-okkaltanam geyye mattam-alliy-o-
18 kkal-ellam-ī(i)dan-a[iye ba]dar-appeḍ-ella
19 Vāraṇāsiyumanu[1]-e[kōṭi tapōdhanamu[mam]
20 keyeyuman-ārāmeyumam kavileyu-
21 man-a[ida pāpam-akku ⊛ yasya ya-
22 sya yadā bhūmi(mis-)tasya tasya sadā (tadā)
23 [pha]lam ⊛ mangaḷam ⊛

No. 5.—TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Calcutta.

The two sets of copper-plates, which form the subject of the present paper, were found in course of some excavations near the temple of Dharmaliṅgēśvara at the village of **Sudava**[2] (or, Sudaba) situated in the eastern division of the Parlākimēḍi Estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. At the time of the discovery, the plates were deposited in a mud-pot. They were received for examination by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Agent and Diwan to the Raja Bahadur of Parlākimēḍi. They have been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1920-21 (C. P. Nos. 1 and 2, page 93), and published for the first time by Pandit Satya Narayana Rajaguru of Parlākimēḍi[3]. I now re-edit the two records from two sets of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

A.—Plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava; [Gaṅga] Year 184.

These are **three** plates of copper, each measuring about 7½″ by 3¼″. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a **ring-hole**, a little above ¼″ in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a **copper-ring** of 3½″ diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered to a circular **seal** of 1¼″ in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a

[1] Read *Vāraṇāsiyuman-*.

[2] In *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 272 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 300, the find-spots of these records are said to be Adava instead of Sudava. These two names perhaps indicate one and the same place.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.



bull, couchant to right, and a crescent above it. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 102 *tolas*. The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is engraved on both sides. Three of the inscribed faces of the plates have six lines of writing apiece, while the fourth has seven, the total coming to twenty-five lines in all, the last line containing only three or four letters. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Chicacole[1] (Year 183), Trilingi[2] (Year 192) and Siddhāntam[3] (Year 195) plates of Dēvēndravarman, the donor of the present grant, already known to us.

Some of the **palæographical features** of the inscription are the following: (1) initial *a* occurs in line 5 and initial *ā* in l. 22, (2) the form of medial *ā* in *tā* of *sutā* (l. 9) is noteworthy, and (3) the final form of *t* occurs once only in *pūrvvāt* (l. 16); the letter is smaller in size and is underscored once.

The **numerical symbols** for 100, 80 and 4 occur in the date which is given in l. 24.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting the three customary verses and one mentioning the writer towards the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among the **orthographical peculiarities** of the record may be mentioned the following: (1) the occurrence of the *jihvāmūlīya* in lines 1 and 14, (2) the use of the *upadhmānīya* in lines 6 and 9, (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *satīya-*, *ītyāya-* (l. 7) and *parikṛittya* (l. 9), according to Pāṇini, viii, 4, 47, (4) the doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the doubling of consonants before *r*, the exceptions being in lines 18 and 19, (6) the use of *anusvāra* in place of final *m* in ll. 12, 20 and 21, (7) the change of *visarga* into *s* before dental *s* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9), (8) substitution of *anusvāra* by guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant in *nistriṅśa* (l. 4) and *saṅśāyēna* (l. 22).

The inscription **records** the gift of the village of Haduvaka which was situated in the district (*vishaya*) called Pushyagiri-pañchāli to the learned Brāhmaṇa teacher Paṭaṅga-Śivāchārya, who was the *guru* of the donor. The original donee again made over one half of the village to (*the god ?*) Yūgēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka and the other half to his own disciples and disciples' disciples. The gift was issued from Kaliṅganagara on the occasion of the termination of the *dīkshā* ceremony of the donor. The donor was *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. The writer of the charter was Pallavachandra, son of Mātṛichandra, who belonged to the Apūrvanaṭa family. The witness of the gift was *mahāsāmantādhikṛita* Śavaranandiśarman and the engraver was Sarvachandra, the son of Khaṇḍichandra, the *bhōgika*.

The **date**, given in words as well as in figures, is the Year 184, which presumably refers to the Gaṅga era.

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** has been variously located at modern Kaliṅgapatam or at Mukhaliṅgam. The village of **Haduvaka** is evidently the same as Sudava (or, Sudaba), the findspot of our inscription. The district of **Pushyagiri-pañchāli** in which the village granted was situated, I am unable as yet to identify.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be placed in the **second half of the 7th century A.D.**

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 130 ff. and plates.
[2] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff. and plates.
[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff. and plates.

TEXT[1].

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti[||*] Sakala-vasumatī-tala-tilakāyamānas[3]-sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaṇīyād vijaya-vatañ **Kaliṅganagara-**

2 vāsakān-Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya charāchara-gurōs-sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇ-aika-sūttradhārasya

3 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaś-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād-vigalita-kali-kalaṅkō Gāṅg-āmala-ku-

4 la-tilakō nija-nistriṅśa(strinśa)-dhār-ōpārjjitas[4]-sakala-**Kaliṅg**-ādhirājya[ḥ*] pravitata-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mē

5 khal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-āhava-saṅkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabda[ḥ*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chū-

6 ḍā-maṇi-prabhā-marñjarī-puñja-rañjita-charaṇaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō naya-vinaya-śauryy-[au-]

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 dāryya-sattya-ttyāga-sampadām=ādhāra-bhūtaḥ śrī-Guṇārṇṇava-sūnur=mmahārājaḥ śrīma-[d*]-**Dēvēndravarmmā Pushyagiri-**

8 **pañchāli**-vishayō **Haduvaka**-grāmē sarvva-samavētān-kuṭumbinas-sama(mā)jñāpayati [|*] Viditam-astu bhavatā[ṁ*] yath-āsmā-

9 bhir-ayaṁ grāmas-sarvva-karaiḥ parihṛitty-ā-chandr-ārkka-pratishṭhaṁ mātā-pittrōr-ātmanaś-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē vēda-

10 vēdāṅg-ētihāsa-purāṇa-nyāya-vidyā-sva-siddhānt-ādhigatāya bhagavat-**Patañga-Śivāchār-yyāya** guravē di-

11 ksh-ōttara-kālē guru-pūjāyai dattas-tēn-āpi pratigṛihya Yāgēśvara-bhaṭṭārakāy-ārddhaṁ sva-śishya-praśi-

12 shyēbhyō-py-arddhaṁ(m)=ity-ēvam=viditvā yath-ōchita-bhāgabhōgam=upa nayanta[ḥ*] sukhaṁ prativasat-ēti[|*] grāmasya sīmā-li-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 ṅgāni bhavanti [|*] Pūrvvasyān-diśi Guṇahārī garttā tata(tō)[5] dakshiṇasyān-diśi sīmāntē[7] s-aiva garttā paśchima(mē)na kadamba-

14 vṛikshaḥ tatas-chiñchā-vṛikshaḥ nimba[s*] tata[ḥ*] sarjja-vṛikshaḥ taṭā[k-ā*]lyāsi timira-vṛikshaḥ tataḥ Piśāch-āli-kāraka-vṛikshaḥ

15 taṭāk-āli-paśchima-sīmāntē taṭāk-āly-uttarē bhallātaka-vṛikshaḥ tata(tō) jambū-vṛikshaḥ Chullavēṇa

[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Read *'sāsva-*.

[4] Read *-ōpārjjita-sakala-*.

[5] The predicate *dattaḥ* is understood here.

[6] [The reading is *gurus-dakshiṇasyān-diśi*.—R. C. C.]

[7] Here we have an example of tautology. We have to read either *dakshiṇasyāṁ-diśi* or simply *dakshiṇa-sīmāntē*.

TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

A.—PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 184.

i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



16 uttara-sīmāntē Chullavēṇa-pūrvvāt śālmalī-vṛikshaḥ tatō dvitīyō-pi śālmalī-vṛikshaḥ kōśa-

17 mbaḥ saptapar[ṇṇa(ṛṇṇō) vṛi(bṛi)hat-chhi(ch-chhi)lā tatō vālmika-sahitō jambu viṭapaḥ chiñchā-jambū[s*] tata[s*] taṭāk-ālyū[ū*] madhūka-

18 vṛikshaḥ tata[ḥ*] pūrvvēṇa s-aiva Guṇahārī garttē-ēti [||*] bhavishyataś-cha rājñaḥ prajñāpayati [|*] dharmma-kra-

Third Plate.

19 ma-vikramair-avāpya mahīm-bhavadbhir-ayaṁ dānadharmmō-nupālanīyō(yaḥ) [||*] Vyāsa-gītāś-ch-ātra ślōka(kā) bhavanti · [|*] [1]Bahubhī(bhi)r-vva-

20 sudhā dattā va(ba)hubhiś-ch-ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(laṁ) [||1*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā ya-

21 tnād-rakshа Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahi(hī)n-ma(m-ma)himatāṁ śrēshṭhaḥ(ṭha) dānāt-chhrē(ch-chhrē)yō-nupālanaṁ(naṁ) [||2*] Shashṭiṁ varshsha-sahasrāṇi sva-

22 rggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē [2]vasēd-ity-Apūrvvanaṭa-vaḍāyē(vaṭhāyē)na Mātṛicha-

23 ndrasya sūnunā [|*] likhitaṁ **Pallavachandrēṇa**[3] śāsanaṁ sva-mukh-ājñayā [||4*] mahāmahattara-**Śavaranandiśarmmaṇa[ḥ*]**[4] pratyakshaṁ-iti [|*] **prava-**

24 **rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śatē chatur-āśītē 100 80 4** [|*] utkīrṇaṁ Khaṇḍichandra-bhōgika[5]-tanayēna [6]**Sarvvachandrēṇ**-ēti[ḥ](ti) [||*]

25 [? U*]māpati[7]

B.—Plates of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman; [Gaṅga] Year 204.

These are **three** sheets of copper, with their edges slightly raised in order to protect the writing. They measure 6″ by 3½″. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole through which the plates slide on to a thick **ring** of copper measuring 3½″ in diameter. The ends of the ring were secured and soldered to a circular **seal** which measures 1½″ in diameter. It bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of a bull, couchant to right, surmounted by a crescent. Below the bull there is a floral design. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 138 *tolas*. The first and the third

[1] Metre: *Śīlōka* (*Anushṭubh*); and in the following three verses.

[2] Read *vasēt* [||3*] *iti*.

[3] The same person was responsible for drafting the Chicacole (Year 183) and Trilingi (Year 192) plates of Dēvēndravarman.

[4] He figures also as a witness in the Chicacole and Trilingi records of Dēvēndravarman. The Chicacole inscription, however, calls him a *mahattara*, for a note on which term, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, f. n. 6. Dr. E. Hultzsch's explanation of the first component of his (the witness's) name (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 3) seems to be unwarranted; for, Śavara need not always signify the savage tribe. In fact, Śavara is only another name of Śiva who is the object of devotion of the donor of our grant.

[5] For a note on *bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64; also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 100, f. n. 1.

[6] He also engraved the Chicacole and Trilingi plates of Dēvēndravarman. The name of the father of the engraver of the latter grant has been misread (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 302) as *Chandrabhōgika*, whereas it is clearly *Khaṇḍichandra* on the facsimile. *Cf.* plate III (opp. p. 301), wrongly numbered there as 'Plate II (*Reverse*)'.

[7] This was probably the name of the record-keeper (*akshapaṭalika*) or some other official at his office. [The reading seems to be *Māgha-di I.*—B. C. C.]

plates are inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one contains writing on both of its sides. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines, each of the inscribed faces of the plates containing eight lines of writing.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Ganjām Plates of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman[1] and the Dhanantara Plates[2] of Sīmantavarman.[3]

The **orthography** of the inscription calls for no special remarks. It shows almost the same features as those that occur in the record of Dēvēndravarman dealt with under **A** above.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of one imprecatory verse, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription **records** the gift of the village of Tīlatthēra situated in the district (*vishaya*) of Krōshṭukavarttanī, to the learned Brāhmaṇa Vishṇusōmāchārya who belonged to the Pārāśara *gōtra* and hailed from Śṛiṅgāṭikā-*agrahāra* in the Kāmarūpa *vishaya*. The occasion for the gift was a marriage ceremony (*kanyādāna*). The donor of the grant was *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvēndravarman, who belonged to the family of the Gaṅgas (*Gāṅga kula*). The grant was made at the request of the king's brother, Jayavarman.

The **date**, given in words as well as in figures, is *śukla-trayōdaśī* of the month of Mārgaśīrsha of the Year 204 (of the Gaṅga era). The engraver was **Kuyāli**, the son of Nādimachi.

Of the **localities** mentioned, the **Krōshṭukavarttanī**-*vishaya* is mentioned in some of the early and later Gaṅga inscriptions.[4] It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch[5] with modern Chicacole. The Kāmarūpa-*vishaya* may not necessarily signify the famous country of the same name in Eastern India. Perhaps it is just another (hitherto unknown) district of ancient Kaliṅga. I am unable to identify at present both this and the Śṛiṅgāṭikā-*agrahāra* as well as the village granted. Besides these, our inscription contains a medley of geographical names (chiefly those of hillocks, *etc.*) which marked the boundaries of the village of Tūlatthēra. These, however, seem impossible to identify without a local investigation.

Palæographically, our inscription is to be referred to the **last quarter of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.**

[1] Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 261-63 and plates.

[2] Above Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

[3] Apart from the one under discussion, there is another grant of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, (see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year* 1918-19, p. 14, No. 8 and *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188-190 and plates). This record, however, does not seem to be genuine; for, the script appears to be too late for the reign of Anantavarman, and further the record, which abounds in gross mistakes in composition, is not dated.

[4] *E. g.*, Urlām plates of Rāsticarman (Year 89), above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, father of the donor of the present grant (Year 183), above, Vol. III, pp. 134 ff., *etc.*

[5] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff. [In fact, Dr. Hultzsch has only pointed out that the district of Krōshṭukavarttanī also occurs in the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman but he has not identified it with Chicacole as stated by Mr. Ghosh here as well as on p. 196 of Volume XXIV, above. The *vishaya* has, however, been identified by Mr. G. Ramadas with the country to the north of the river Vaṁśadhārā in the Ganjām District (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 263).—Ed.]

B.—Plates of Anantavarman; [Ganga] year 204.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 3015 F 40–200.

Scale : Seven-tenths.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti [|*] Vijayavatāḥ **Kaliṅganagarān**-Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya
2 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ praṇāmōd-vigalita-kali-kalaṅkaḥ śrīmad-Gā-
3 ṅga-kula-tilakō nija-nistri[ṁ*]ś-ōpārjjita-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] pravitata-cha-
4 tur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-ā
5 hava-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-śavda (ḍa)[ḥ*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-cha-
6 kra-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ para-
7 mamāhēśvara-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-Dēvēndravarmma-sūnur-mmahārāja-śrīmā-
8 n-**Anantavarmmā Krōshṭukavarttanyā[ṁ*] Tālatthērē** sarvva-samavētāṁ ku(n ku)
ṭumvi(mbi)na[ḥ*] sa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 mājñāpayati [|*] Viditam-astu bhavatā[ṁ*] yath-āya[ṁ*] grāmō-smad-bhrātṛā-śrī-[3]**Jayavarmma-**
10 **ṇā** mātā-pitṛtṛūr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhayē-bhyarthitēna mayā vēda-vēdāṅga-
pa(pā)ragē-
11 bhya[ḥ*] **Kāmarūpa-vishaya-Śriṅgāṭik**-āgrahāra-vāstavyēbhya[ḥ*] Pārāśara-sagōt-
trē[bhyō]
12 **Vishṇusōmāchā[r*]ya**-pādēbhyō vivāha-sanayē kanyā-dānam-udaka-pū-
13 rvvaṁ kṛitv-ā-chandr-ārka-pratishṭhaṁ sarvva-kara-bharān-muktvā dattas-tad-ēvaṁ
vudhvā(buddhvā)
14 yath-ōchita-bha(bhā)gabhōgam-upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ vasat-ēti [|*] adhunā sīmā-liṅgā-
15 ni kramēṇa sthitāni Ī(Ai)śānyāṁ Dēvaparvvata-śikharaḥ tat-pūrvvēṇa giri-vaṭa-va-
16 na-rāji-[4]purusha-chchhāyay-āpūrichēru-maddhyēna Tālatthēra-Hēma-liṅga-tādappara[ḥ*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 ttrikūṭē[5] suruli-vālmīkaḥ pa(pā)rvvaryā(tya)-girivaṭaḥ dhātu-karāṅja[ḥ*] Vasantapura-
ṭṛi(tri)-
18 kūṭē chiñchā-vana-rāji-pañchāṅgula-vibhita[ḥ*] Kōṅga-parvvatē pūrvv-āvatīrē giri-
19 vaṭaḥ sulla-patthasē kō-āmraḥ chiñchā vāpī-pūrv-ālī parvvata-śikharē Dumōlli-
20 ṭṛi(tri)kūṭaḥ pūrvvā dīka(k) dakshiṇēna chiñchā-paṅkti[ḥ*] Sōma-vaṭaka-ṭṛi(tri)kū-

[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] He has been identified by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 261) with *Mahārāja* Jayavarmadēva of a Ganjām grant and by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, f. n. 7) with a king of the same name mentioned in another inscription from Ganjām (*J. B. O.*, Vol. XII, pp. 491 ff.).

[4] "This description appears to presuppose the position of the sun at an angle of 45° over the horizon." (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 1).

[5] According to Dr. Hultzsch "its meaning might be "the point at which three roads meet"" ; see above, Vol. III, p. 20, f. n. 7.

21 ṭē rūdhana-chiñchā-paṅkti[ḥ*] Dhāra-vāṭaka-ṭṛi(tri)kūṭē chiñchā-vana-rāji-rāja-

22 mārggu[ḥ] chiñchā-vālmīkaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-vālmīkaḥ punaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-tōra-vālmī-

23 kaḥ nikhāt[-ō]pala[ḥ] nimva(mba)-vālmīkaḥ dakshiṇā dika(k)l paśchimēna Kapāṭa-saddhiḥ(ndhiḥ) ku-

24 ḍuṅga-paṅk[t*]i[ḥ*] vaku[la*?]-vana-rāji-taṭāk-āli[ḥ*] sōma-vibhīta-sōma-kapittha-garttā chiñchā-

Third Plate.

25 drumaḥ[1] chiñchā-vana-rāji-śālmalī Pīpū-parvvata-śikharaḥ a-

26 ppachēruḥ saptaparṇṇa[ḥ*] ṭṛi(tri)kūṭē chiñchā paśchimā dika(k)l uttarēṇa vēṇu-vana-rā-

27 jī mōdakē rūdhanaḥ Kōrkkaṇṭa-śikharē tādapparaḥ ṭṛi(tri)kūṭaḥ sōma-druma[s-*]

28 tataḥ parvvata-śikharēṇa Salavadēva-parvvata-śikhara iti [|*] a-

29 ttra cha Vyāsa-gītāḥ [|*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām-vā(ttāṁ vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhi-shṭhi-

30 ra [|*] mahīṁ[ṁ*] mahīmatā[ṁ*] śrēshṭha dānāch=chhē(chhrē)yō-nupālanaṁ(nam) | (||) mi(ī)ty-ēvam=ādi **prava-**

31 **rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śata-dvayē Chatur-uttarē 204** Mārgaśīr-shaha-śu-

32 kla-paksha-ttrayōdaśyāṁ dattam=idaṁ śāsanam=utkīrṇṇaṁ Nādimachi-su(sū)nu-**Kuyāli-**likhinā [|*]

No. 6.—KAMAULI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V. S. 1184.

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Calcutta.

This plate belongs to what might be called a remarkable 'hoard' of twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions which were discovered in October 1892 in the village of **Kamauli**, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. They have been deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow since July 1893. Three of this lot were studied by Mr. Arthur Venis[2] and the rest by Dr. F. Kielhorn.[3] Of the present record Dr. Kielhorn did not give us the text, but contented himself with furnishing a brief notice.[4] I now edit the inscription from the excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. I am also indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for generously placing at my disposal an advance proof of a paper from his pen on another Gāhaḍavāla inscription, namely that of Jayachchandra.[5]

This is a **single sheet** of copper measuring 1' 4" by 1' 3" and is engraved on one side only. At the top centre there is a **ring-hole**, about $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$" in diameter, through which passed a ring. The circular **seal**, which connected the ends of the ring, measures a little over 2$\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter. It bears on it in relief on a slightly counter-sunk surface the conventionalised

[1] After this follow some five or six syllables which are too obscure to admit of a definite reading.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 111, No. I.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 291 ff.

figure of Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, with the hands folded in devotion. From his wide-spread wings and the poise of his legs, he seems to be in the act of flying. Across the centre of the seal runs the **legend** *Śrīmad-Gōvindachadra(ndra)dēvaḥ*. And below it, in the lower semicircle, is engraved the figure of a conch-shell. The entire margin of the seal is rayed or rather serrated. The plate along with the ring and the seal weighs 359 *tolas*.

The plate contains twenty-five[1] lines of writing. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** are the usual Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Attention may however be called to some of their outstanding features. These are :—(1) initial *a* occurs in line 1, *ā* in ll. 1 and 20, *i* in ll. 8 and 9, *u* in l. 21 ; (2) examples of consonants *kh*, *gh* and *ṭh* are found in ll. 13, 9 and 25 respectively ; (3) the signs for *dh*, *ch* and *v* are sometimes almost identical in form ; *cf. vividha* (l. 12), *ādiśati cha* (l. 14) and *vasumatī* (l. 5) respectively ; (4) the letter *r* shows two forms, *cf. e.g. -āvaruddha-* (l. 8) and *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 10) ; (5) similarly the letter *g* has two forms, one of which is looped, *cf. Gōvindachandraḥ* (l. 8) and *-galita-* (l. 7) respectively ; (6) signs for conjuncts *dg* and *ṅg* are hardly distinguishable, *e.g. divaṅ-gatāsu* (l. 2) and *śrīmad-Gāḍhipur-* (l. 4) ; (7) *bh* shows two forms as in *bhāgabhōgakara* (l. 20) ; (8) dental *s* has also two forms, *e.g. āsīd* (l. 1) and *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 23) ; (9) medial *ō* is composed in two different ways as in *akuṇṭh-āṭōṭaṇṭha-* (l. 1) and *sa-garv-ōsharaḥ* (l. 15).

The **numerals** 1, 4, 5, and 8 are contained in the date in line 16. The sign indicating the continuation of an incomplete word at the end of a line consists of one vertical with a slanting stroke to its right.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following :—(1) both the letters *b* and *v* are invariably indicated by the sign for the latter, (2) the consonants are usually doubled after *r*, (3) the letters *ś* and *s* have been used promiscuously in a number of cases, (4) *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal in many instances as in *saṁkhyā* (l. 21), *vasuṁdharām* (l. 24), (5) final form of *m* occurs in *nijam* (l. 2), *phalam* and *vasuṁdharām* (l. 24).

The **language** is Sanskrit. There are altogether fifteen verses, composed in various metres, of which the first praises Vishṇu and his consort Lakshmī, the next eight describe the several kings of the dynasty coming before the donor of the grant, and the remaining six are imprecatory and benedictory ones. Barring these, the rest of the inscription is in prose. There are quite a number of errors, both of omission and of commission, in the text, which will be noted in their proper places.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara, Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatray-ādhipati* **Gōvindachandra,** and records that, on the **Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon** *tithi* of **Kārttika** of the (Vikrama) **Year 1184,** after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, he made a gift of the village of **Bhānī,** situated in the *paṭṭalā* called **Maḍavattala,** together with its *pāṭakas,* to the *Mahāpurōhita* **Jāgūśarman,** son of the *Dīkshita* Vilhā, and grandson of the *Dīkshita* Purushōttama. The donee belonged to the Bandhula *gōtra* having the triple *pravara* of Bandhula-Aghamarshaṇa-Viśvāmitra.[2] The village was given subject to payment of taxes called *bhāgabhōgakara, prasaṇikara* and *kūṭaka*[3], but inclusive of certain fundamental rights such as mining, fishing, *etc.* The gift was announced formally in the presence of a number of high officials of the State. The writer of the grant was *Ṭhakkura* **Viśvarūpa.**

[1] Or rather twenty-six, the last consisting of but six letters.

[2] He belonged further to the Vājasanēya *śākhā* (*cf. e. g.*, above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 20 ; p. 107, text l. 18, etc.).

[3] [In fact, these taxes were to be paid to the donee. *Cf.* above, Vol. IV, p. 99.—B.C.C.]

Inscriptions mentioning Gōvindachandra known so far (including the Basāhi,[1] Kamauli[2] and Rāhan[3] plates which speak of him as *Mahārājaputra*) range over a period of Vikrama Saṁvat 1161-1211 (or A.D. 1104-1154), *i.e.* exactly fifty years.[4] The present record of Gōvindachandra belongs to V. S. 1184. There is another record of the same king which also is dated in the same year.[5]

The inscription under discussion does not furnish us with any facts that are already not known except that it refers to one or two new place-names. The genealogy of the donor is given once in verses 2-9 and again in ll. 10-12, this time with the exclusion of Yaśōvigraha and Mahīchandra, the first two members of the Gāhaḍavāla family. Mahīchandra's son was Chandradēva who is claimed to have acquired the kingdom of Gāḍhīpura (*i.e.*, Kanyakubja) by the prowess of his own arm and to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttara-Kōsala and Indrasthāna after he had acquired them'. The Sāṁ-Mahēṭ inscription of Vidyādhara,[6] which is dated in V.S. 1176, however, as suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray,[7] somewhat tends to undermine the former claim by reason of the fact that it speaks of two persons, of Rāshṭrakūṭa origin, named Gōpāla and Madana, ruling about this time in and about Kanyakubja. In fact, one of them, Gōpāla, is actually called *Gāḍhipurādhipa*. It seems that Chandradēva, as claimed in the Basāhi plate[8] (V. S. 1161), after the death of his two mighty contemporaries, viz., kings Bhōja[9] and Karṇa,[10] found the time opportune and the field open to extend his influence in the Ganges-Jumna *doāb* by establishing his capital at the most fiercely-contested-for city in the whole history of mediaeval India. Shortly afterwards, however, the imperial capital seems to have been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign, following, presumably, an expedition led by the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, probably Gōpāla (*Gāḍhipurādhipa*) of the Sāṁ-Mahēṭ inscription. Madana, the son and successor of Gōpāla, appears however to have soon lost this advantage once for all.

Indeed, Kanyakubja seems to have changed hands again during (the otherwise uneventful) rule of Madanapāla; for as has been recorded in the Basāhi and Kamauli plates, *mahārājaputra* Gōvindachandra made in those years (V.S. 1161-62) gifts of villages situated in the Jāvatī-*paṭṭalā* which again was situated in the Pañchāla-dēśa. And Kanyakubja, as is well-known, was the first city of the Pañchāla country. These two records therefore mark the re-passage of Kanauj into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla kings who from now on held the capital to themselves till almost the end of their dynasty. The Rāshṭrakūṭa interregnum in Kanyakubja (during the regime of Gāhaḍavāla kings) may therefore be said to have lasted

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.

[4] For a list and *résumé* of all known inscriptions (except one or two that have been discovered latterly) of Gōvindachandra, see H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Mediaeval Period*, Vol. I, pp. 515-528.

[5] *Viz.*, Bhadavaṇā grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 291 ff.=Tūlā Inscription', D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 266). Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion (*ibid*, f. n. 6) that the grant is spurious has been deemed unconvincing by the Editor (*ibid*).

[6] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 204. Vidyādhara's father Janaka was according to this inscription the minister (*sachiva*) of Gōpāla.

[7] *Dynastic Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

[9] He has been variously identified with his famous Paramāra or Gurjara-Pratīhāra namesake (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 507, f. n. 1).

[10] Generally identified with the great Kalachuri king Lakshmī-Karṇa.

roughly from 1095 to 1105 A.D., approximately ten years.[1] It was perhaps during this interval that the Gāhaḍavālas moved on temporarily to some other city, possibly as suggested by Dr. V. A. Smith[2] and then by Dr. H. C. Ray,[3] to Benares or some region near to it.

Gōvindachandra, the donor of the present record, succeeded his father Madanapāla on the throne. He is described here as one who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(ly acquired) kingdom' (*navarājya*). This latter term has been taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti[4] to refer to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra succeeded as a matter of course after his father Madanapāla. On this same expression Dr. Kielhorn observed[5] that "the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning." This circumstance in our opinion finds a satisfactory explanation in the fact (suggested above) that it was Gōvindachandra who re-established the supremacy of his line over Kanyakubja and the territories depending on it.

It was Gōvindachandra again who, significantly enough, assumed, as in the present instance, first of all the members of his family,[6] the ambitious titles of *aśvapati-gajapati-naraṇati-rāja-traya-ādhipati* originally used by the Kalachuri kings of Ḍāhala from Lakshmī-Karṇa onwards. This fact acquires an added significance from the evidence furnished by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plates[7] of Gōvindachandra (V. S. 1177). This inscription records transference of the gift of a village which was originally granted to another person by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, son and successor of Lakshmī-Karṇa. It seems therefore to have been rightly held by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti[8] that, taking advantage of the favourable turn of events following the death of Lakshmī-Karṇa, Gōvindachandra "wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by Kalachuri kings".[9]

Of the **localities** mentioned, Kāśi, Uttarakōsala and Indrasthāna have been identified[10] with the present Benares, Ayōdhyā and Indraprastha (or Delhi) respectively. Kuśika, Gādhipura and Kanyakubja have generally been identified with one and the same place, *viz.*, modern Kanauj. The village granted and the *paṭṭalā* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.

[1] The earliest date for Chandradēva known so far is 1090 A.D. (*cf.* his Chandrāvatī plate, V. S. 1148, above, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.). Taking him to be a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōpāla (for whose son Madana's reign we have a date in 1119-20 A.D. as recorded in the Sāṭ-Mahōṭ inscription and who has been rightly supposed to be a feudatory of Gōvindachandra; *cf.* H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 507, f. n. 5), we may reasonably allow him an uninterrupted reign of five years before the imperial capital passed on, though for a short time, to the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

[2] *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 6.

[6] Chandradēva, the grandfather of Gōvindachandra, is once (above, Vol. IX, p. 324) referred to as *naraṇati*, a title which (among others) was also assumed by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, who has been supposed by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 788) to be a contemporary of Chandradēva. It has indeed been suggested by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 508) that the assumption of such a title by Chandradēva may indicate some conflict with the Kalachuri kings. In fact, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, Chandradēva claims (above, Vol. XIV, p. 193) to have defeated a *naraṇati-gajapati*, titles which are assumed by Yaśaḥ-Karṇa himself.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

[9] There is also an interesting numismatic evidence which goes to support the contention that Gōvindachandra extended his dominions at the expense of the Kalachuri rulers of Ḍāhala (H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531).

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, f. n. 46.

The **date** of the record is given, both in words and in decimal figures, as Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika of the year 1184 and "regularly corresponds, for Vikrama-Saṁvat 1184 expired, to Friday, the 21st October A.D. 1127".[1]

TEXT.[2]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-15, *Anushṭubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*, v. 12, *Śālinī*.]

1 Ōṁ Ōṁ[3] Svasti || Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | saṁrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śrīyaḥ śrēyasē-stu vaḥ || [1*] Āsīd-Aśītadyuti-vaṁśa-jātaḥ(jāta-)kshmāpā-

2 la-mālāsu divaṁ-gatāsu | sākshād-Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśōvigraha** ity-udāraḥ || [2*] Tat-sutō-bhūn-**Mahīchandraś**[4]-chandra-dhāma-nibhan nijam | yēn-ā-

3 pa(pā)ram-akūshā(pā)ra-pārē vyūpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-ra(śī)kaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chadra(ndra)-dēvō**[5] nṛipaḥ | yēn-ōdāratara-[6]

4 pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-prāj-ōpadravaṁ śrīmat-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asaman dōr-vvikramēṇ-ārjjitaṁ || [4*] Tīrthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** paripā-

5 layat-ābhigamya | hōm-ātma-tulyam-aniśa(śa)n-dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn-āṅkitā[7] vasumatī śataśas-tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy-ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-chūḍāmaṇi[8]-

6 r-vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy-ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalan-dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy-āsīd-vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē taṅg-ā-

7 chal-ōchchaiś-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhrasya(śya)n-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tāla-galita-styūn-āsṛig-udbhāsitaḥ [9]Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d-iva kshaṇam-asau krō-

8 ḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasmād-ajāyata ṇij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-va(ba)ndh-āvaruddha-navarājya-gajō narēndraḥ | sāndr-āmṛita-druva-muchā[ṁ*] prabhavō gavāṁ yō **Gōvinda-chandra** iti cha-

9 dra(ndra) iv-āmvu(mbu)rāśē(śō)ḥ || [8*] Na katham-apy-alabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs-tisṛishu dikshu gajān-atha vajriṇaḥ | kakubhī va(ba)bhramur-Abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Sō-

10 yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ [10] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parama-(mō)śvara-paramamāhēśva[ra*]-nija-bhuj-ōpārjji[ta*]-śrī-Kanyakuṇj(bj)-ādhipatya-śrī-Chandradēva-pād-ānu[11]-

[1] Above, Vol IV, p. 111.

[2] From the ink-impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[3] Expressed by a symbol. [The first symbol answers to *siddham or siddhir-astu*. See above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

[4] Here follows a sign for continuation of the word.

[5] Also called Mahiala (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.), Mahlyaha (*e. g.* above, Vol. II, p. 359, text, l. 2), and Mahītala (*e. g. Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.). In some records (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, text, l. 1), it is he who stands at the head of his line instead of Yaśōvigraha.

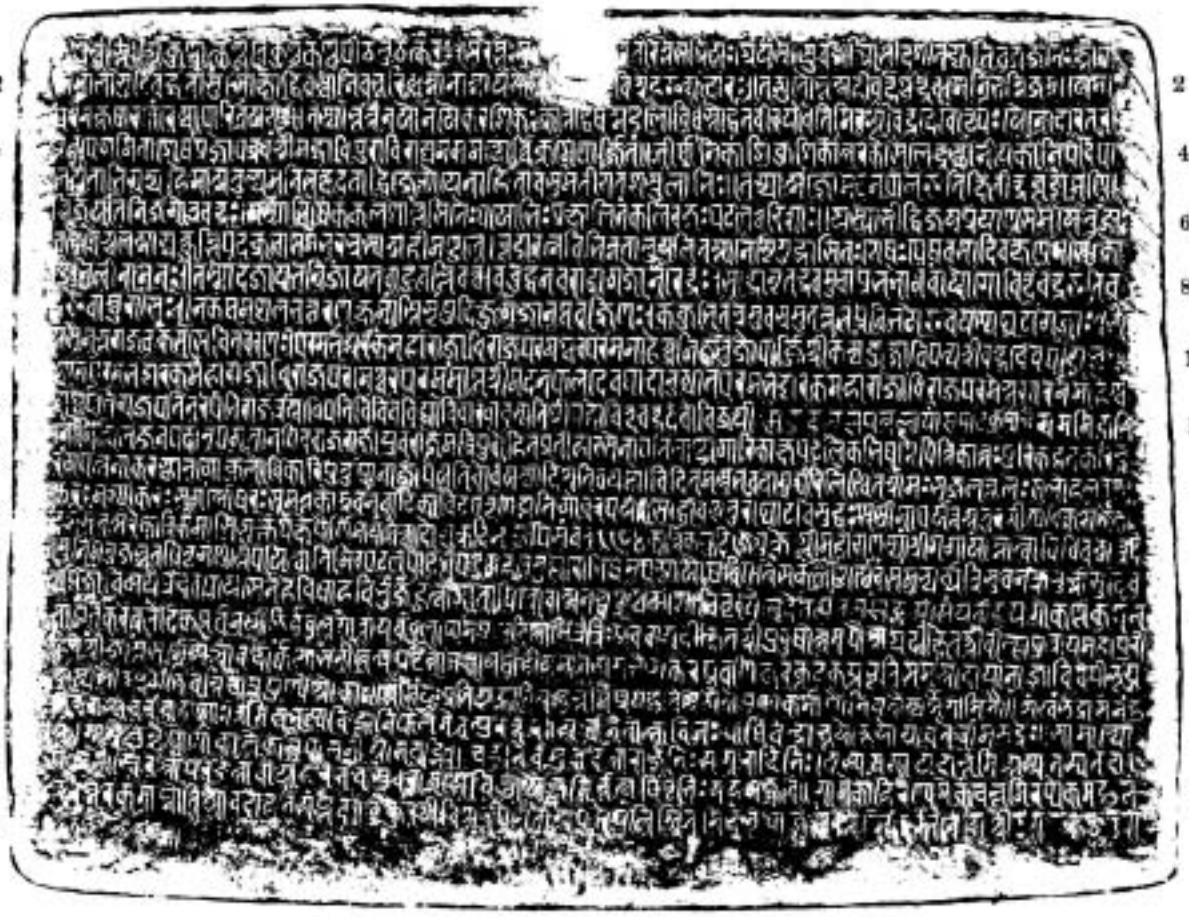
[6] He is also known as Chandrādityа (above, Vol. XIV, p. 194) and once, simply as Chandra (above, Vol. IX, p. 324).

[7] The conjunct *ṅki* in this word seems rather imperfectly engraved on the impression.

[8] Dr. Kielhorn thinks (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, n. 45; *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, n. 14, etc.) that this phrase should more properly be read as *Śēshaḥ śirasa-chūḍā-iva*.

[9] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

KAMAULI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V.S. 1184.



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SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

11 dhyūta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā[hē*]śva[ra*]-śrī-Mada-
napāladēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā-
hēśva-

12 r-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gō-
vindachandradēvō vijayī **Maḍavattala-**[1] pattalāyāṁ sa-pāṭaka-**Bhāṇī-**[2] gra(grā)ma-
nivāsi-

13 nō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-**rāj**ñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnā-
pati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naipi(mi)ttik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-tu-

14 raga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān-āj̃ñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādiśati cha
yathā | viditam-astu bhavatām-upari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa[3]-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ā-

15 karaḥ [sa-*]maśy(tsy)-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-ṭiṇa-
yūti-gōchara-paryanta[ḥ*] s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sa(sva)-
sīmā-paryantaś-chatur-aśīty-adhika-śat-aikā-

16 daśa-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakshē paurṇimāyāṁ Manvādau Śukra-dinē-ṅkē-pi
Saṁvat 1184 Kārttika-sudi 15 Śukrē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyāṁ śrī-Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā
vidhivan-mantra-dē-

17 va-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs-tarpayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam-Ushṇa-
rōchisham-upasthāy-Aushadhipatiśa(śa)kalaśēkharaṁ samabhyarchya tribhuvana-
trātur-Vāsudēva-

18 sya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-
cha puṇya-yaśō-vivṛidha(ddha)yē tad-ētat-parama-śra(śra)ddhayā saṁyatībhūya
gōkarṇa-kuśa-la-

19 tā-pūta-kara-tal-ōdaka-pūrvvam-asmābhir-Vvadhu(Bandhu)la-gōtrāya Vaṁdhu(Bandhu)l-
Āghama(rsha)ṇa-Viśvāmitra-trih(tri)-pravarāya dīkshita[4]-śrī-Purushōttama[5]-pautrāya
dīkshita-śrī-Vīlhā[6]-putrāya mahāpurō-

20 hita-śrī-**Jāgūśa(śa)rmmaṇē**[7] ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ śāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamā-
na-bhāgabhōgakara-pravaṇikara-kūṭaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān-āj̃ñāvidhēyībhūya

21 dāsyatha |*|| Bhavanti ch-ātra puṇya-ślōkāḥ || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yas-tu
bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(taṁ) [sva]rgga-gāminau
|| [10*] Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chchha(chha)-

[1] Dr. Kielhorn doubtfully read this word (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as '*Maḍavala* (?)'. But there is a trace of *tta* (rather weakly engraved) between *va* and *la*. Compare this *tta* with the same sign in *pattalāyāṁ*.

[2] This word was hesitatingly read by Dr. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as '*Bāri* (?)'. Unfortunately the two letters have been engraved in a slovenly manner and in a smaller size. It seems, however, possible to read the second letter as *ṇī*. As regards the first it may well be a disjointed *pā*, or as I have surmised, *bhā*.

[3] For a note on the terms *jala-sthala*, *etc.*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 73 *ff.*

[4] "This word is explained to denote persons who or whose ancestors have performed a great sacrificial ceremony, such as a *jyōtishṭōma*." (Above, Vol. IV, p. 98, f. n. 7.)

[5] He is also called Purāsa. (Above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 21; p. 107, text l. 18; p. 100, text l. 19, *etc.*)

[6] He is otherwise known as Vīlhāka (above, Vol. II, p. 360, text l. 13) and Vēdaśarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 121, text l. 26).

[7] He is apparently the same as *Purōhita* Jāguka who served under Gōvindachandra's father Madanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) No less than ten copper-plate inscriptions from Kamauli record grants made in favour of this high priest. He is variously called *Mahādīkshita Mahāpurōhita* Jāgū (above, Vol. IV, p. 117, l. 18 and p. 120, No. P.), Jāgāka (*ibid*, p. 103, l. 21) and Jāgūka (*ibid*, p. 107, l. 19). He is also once (*ibid*, p. 120, No. T.) referred to as Yājñavalkya in an inscription of Jayachchandra.

22 traṁ var-āśvā vara- vāhaṇā(nā)ḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chāḥnāni phalam ētat-Purandara || [11*] Sarvvān-ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || (|) sāmānyō=

23 yaṁ dharmmasētur[1]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [12*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā [2]

24 phalam || [13*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [14*] Gām-ēkāṁ hiraṇyam=ēkaṁ cha[3] bhū-mi(mē)r=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ |

25 haran-narakam=āpnōti yāvad-āha(hū)ta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15*] Ṭhakkura-śrī- **Viśva-rūpēṇa** tāmvra(mra)paṭṭō=yaṁ likhitam=idaṁ[4] nṛip-ājñay-ēti | Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||[5]

.. ||

26 | ||

NO. 7.—BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

By Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of the Raja and Ruling Chief of the Dhenkanal State, Orissa. In 1930 the late Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguly of Calcutta got it from him and deposited it in the Archæological Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj State. I am thankful to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archæologist of Mayurbhanj, for kindly allowing me to edit it.

It is **a single plate** inscribed on both sides; the first side containing seventeen lines and the second eighteen lines of writing. When handed over to me, it was found to have been covered with a thin coat of verdigris and consequently some portions of the writing were quite illegible. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who had the opportunity to examine the plate, very kindly arranged its cleaning by chemical treatment and also sent me an excellent set of inked impressions. To Dr. Chhabra I also owe a number of useful suggestions in preparing this article. The transcript given by me is based on the original as well as on the inked impressions. The inscription is, on the whole, in good preservation except that the first and the last lines of the first side and the first four and the last two lines of the second side have been very much corroded. The letters are deep-cut and well-formed. The plate measures 11″×6″. It has a **seal** attached to its left-hand side, which measures $2\frac{3}{4}$″ in diameter, resembles in form a full-blown lotus exhibiting two rows of petals and contains a medallion superimposed on the inner row of the same. Inside the medallion, the inner diameter of which is about $1\frac{1}{4}$″, occur in relief the figures of a couchant humped bull, of a crescent with a star almost touching its hump and of a club-shaped object below its mouth, while underneath the bull there runs in one line the legend *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya* underlined with two parallel straight lines, and at the bottom there occurs, also in relief, the figure of an expanded lotus flower. The plate together with the seal weighs about 143 *tolas*.

[1] The technical word *dharmasētu* occurs for the first time in some of the inscriptions of Śātavāhana kings from Nasik (*cf.* above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, l. 11; p. 65, l. 13, *etc.*). According to Dr. E. Senart (*ibid*, p. 64), "*Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period, denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit', which enables its author to get over the ocean of samsāra".

[2] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] This line of the verse has one syllable in excess. Read *gāṁ=ēkāṁ suvarṇam=ēkaṁ cha* as elsewhere.

[4] Read either *tāmrapaṭṭō=yaṁ likhitō* or *tāmrapaṭṭē likhitam=idaṁ*.

[5] Here follows what appears to be a trisyllabic mystic formula, cited thrice, the reading and meaning of which I am unable to offer.

The **characters** belong to the northern type of alphabet and closely resemble in form those of the Ganjām plate of Daṇḍīmahādēvī of the year 180[1]. We have here examples of the initial vowels *ā* in *Ārchchanānasa*, l. 29; *i* in *iti*, l. 9; and *ai* in *Airāvaṭṭa*, l. 24; as well as of the consonants *jh* in *-jhaṅkāriṇī*, l. 4; *dh* in *gōdhā*, l. 22. The letter *n* shows two different forms, as in *n=aiva*, l. 3; and in *vanē*, l. 4. No distinction has been made in the form of medial *u* and *ū*, as may be exemplified by the words *sphurita-* and *śūra-*, l. 5, while the medial *u* is represented by two different signs as is seen in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6. In many instances the superscript *r* is not clearly marked.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The text contains some mistakes of spelling as well as of grammar, which have been pointed out in their proper places. As regards **orthography**, the following peculiarities deserve notice: (1) A consonant after *r* is usually reduplicated; (2) *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, *e.g.* in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6 and *-rachanais=chandr-*, l. 15; (3) *n* has been employed for *anusvāra* in *tīvrānśumāli*, l. 11; (4) *b* is represented by the sign for *v*; (5) in some cases *sandhi* has not been observed, *e.g. śrīmān=Jayānanda*, ll. 2-3, (6) sign of *avagraha* has been used in *gō='bhūt*, l. 8.

The record does not contain any date, but the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva[2], having the introductory portion identical with that of the present one, records a date at the end of the inscription. Mr. A. Banerji-Sastri, the editor of this grant, has not been able to give the correct reading of the text. His reading of the date is also erroneous. The record has been re-edited and further commented upon by Mr. N. Tripathi[3], but he has also failed to interpret the date. He first explained the symbols for the date as representing *200+80+3(=283)*, and later as *200+80+1 (=281)*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has given this date as the year 293 and has suggested to refer it to the Harsha era[4]. If this view is accepted, and there is no reason to reject it, the date in question would correspond to A.D. 899, which would roughly be the date of the present inscription as well.

The inscription opens with a description of the place of issue of the grant, the name of which has inadvertently been omitted by the scribe but may be ascertained from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva as being **Jayapura**. Then the lines 2-24, mostly composed in verse, give a genealogical account, beginning with Jayānanda and ending with Dēvānanda, in course of which the qualities and the achievements of the rulers have been poetically described. The **object** of the inscription has, then, been set forth, which was to record the grant by the king Dēvānanda of the village Lambēva[5], situated in the *vishaya* of *Pōḍḍā* in the Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala*, to one *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, who belonged to the Kāṇva-*śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda, and to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, and was a member of the *Bhaṭṭa* community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, originally hailing from Puṇḍravarddhana.

As to the family of the donor, it is called Nandōdbhava[6] or simply Nanda, as may be inferred from the terms *Nand-ōdbhava-vaṁśa*, and *Nanda-kula* occurring in l. 2 and l. 17 respectively.

[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 127 ff.
[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff. and plates; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2043.
[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff. and Vol. XVII, pp. 196-7.
[4] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2043.
[5] [See below p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]
[6] A similar instance is found in the name Śailōdbhava.

Mr. Tripathi concludes from these expressions (also occurring in Dhruvānanda's plate) that the family of Jayānanda was an offshoot of the Imperial Nandas of Magadha[1]. But this conclusion does not seem to have been based on sufficient data. What seems to be probable is that the suffix *ānanda* was peculiar to the names of this family as *taṅga*, *kara*, *stambha* and the like were peculiar to the names of some other royal families of Orissa. And, as these suffixes gave distinct names to these families, the suffix *ānanda* did the same in the case of the royal family of Jayānanda. The confusion between *nanda* and *ānanda* seems to have been one as between *kara* and *ākara*, illustrated in the case of the Kara family of Orissa, in which the second component part of some names is not *kara*, but *ākara*, *e.g.* Śubhākara. This Nanda family of Orissa is not known from any other source except from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva referred to above, and the present record. With the help of the genealogies given in these two charters, we can construct the following genealogical table of this family :—

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.
|
Dhruvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.

It should be noted in this connection that though the relation between the first four members has been specifically mentioned as that of father and son, the same between Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda is not clear from their records. At any rate, that Dhruvānanda was a successor of Dēvānanda is evident from his plate which mentions his name after that of Dēvānanda[2].

As has been said above, the name of **Jayapura**, the description of which occurs in the opening part of the inscription, has probably been omitted through the carelessness of the scribe.

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 469.

[2] [Mr. Panigrahi seems to have mixed up the genealogies given in the two records. Moreover, the present inscription apparently mentions two Dēvānandas, while Mr. Panigrahi obviously takes these two as referring to one and the same person. Below are given, for the sake of comparison, the genealogical lists as supplied by the Talmul plate and the present inscription.

Talmul Plate	*Baripada Museum Plate*
Jayānanda	Jayānanda
Parānanda	Parānanda
Śivānanda	Śivānanda
Dēvānanda	Dēvānanda (I)
Vilāsatuṅga-Dhruvānanda.	Vilāsatuṅga-Dēvānanda (II).

While Dhruvānanda is said to be *Paramasaugata*, Dēvānanda (II) is stated to be *Paramamāhēśvara*; otherwise their descriptions agree word for word. The apparent relation between Dhruvānanda and Dēvānanda (II) is that of brothers, one professing the Buddhist faith, the other adhering to the Śaiva creed, though the seals of both of them bear a *Nandi* emblem. In this case, we will have to admit that Dēvānanda (II) is called after his father's name, which is improbable though not impossible, considering the case of five Maitraka kings of the name of Śīlāditya (III—VII), of whom each succeeding one was a son of the preceding one; see Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 394.—B. C. C.]

This place, presumably the capital of the Nanda family of Orissa, has been identified with Jajpur[1] of the Cuttack district by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and with Jeypur or Jeypore[2], the headquarters of a big estate of the same name in the newly constituted Koraput district of Orissa, by Mr. N. Tripathi. Both of these identifications are open to serious objections. As *Jajpur* cannot be regarded as a corruption of *Jayapura*, and as it was known as Virajā[3] in the eighth or ninth century A. D., when it was held as capital by the Bhauma kings of Orissa, the identification proposed by Dr. Banerji Sastri should be ruled out of consideration. As regards Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification, though no objection can be taken to it from phonetic point of view, several considerations prevent us from taking it as conclusive. On an examination of the place-names mentioned in this grant and others, it is revealed that **Airāvaṭṭa** *maṇḍala* which included the *viṣhaya* of **Pōtōḍā** has been mentioned in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva and also in the Balijhuri plates of Uddyōtakēśarī Mahābhavagupta[4]. This *maṇḍala* must be taken to have comprised a tract of land along the Mahānadī river in view of the fact that the gift village Kōntalaṇḍā, mentioned in the last-named charter, has pointedly been spoken of as situated on the bank of that river. So, if Jayapura is to be taken identical with Jeypur of the Koraput District, we have to suppose that the territories ruled over by Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda extended far to the south-west of the Mahānadī river on the north. But their dominion over such vast territories is not warranted by their records which do not even give the title of *mahārāja* before their names, nor mention a single conquest to their credit. They must have been feudatories of some paramount power in Orissa as is indicated by their titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Besides, Jayānanda, the first known ruler of the family, probably the founder of the dynasty, has been credited with the conquest of the whole of Gōndrama, which, as will be shown below, meant the hilly tracts now ruled over by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, but never any tract along the Bay of Bengal. The last but not the least important is the fact that if these plates of the Nanda family were issued from Jeypur of the Koraput district, it is rather strange that the southern influence so conspicuous on the copper-plates issued from Kaliṅganagara and Śvētaka should have been completely absent from the palaeography of their records. I should, therefore, suggest the identification of Jayapura of our records with Jaipur, a village situated in the Dhenkanal State from which and from the adjoining Narasinghpur State all the three copper-plate grants mentioning the name of Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* are reported to have hailed. Jayapura, as its name suggests, was possibly founded by Jayānanda, the first ruler of the Nanda family.

Among the other geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Gōndrama*, which is also mentioned in four other copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa[5], is always found in conjunction with *sakala* 'all', and in one plate with *ashṭādaśa* 'eighteen'. It is thus clear that it was a geographical expression meaning a group of eighteen tracts of land and seems to be the same as *ashṭādaśāṭavī-rājya* (eighteen forest chiefdoms) of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha.[6] The name *ashṭādaśa Gōndrama* applied to these tracts was probably due to the predominence of the Gond tribe over other aboriginal tribes inhabiting these parts and seems to have survived in the geographical expression *aṭhara gaḍhjāt* still applied to all the feudatory states of Orissa by the people, though as a matter of fact their number at present is not eighteen but twenty-four. It should be

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XV, p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff.

[3] Pt. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 89.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 17, text l. 33, Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2076.

[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 402 (text l. 18), 406 (text l. 9) and 418 (text ll. 1-) and Vol. VI, p. 239 (text l. 13).

[6] Above Vol. VIII, p. 287 (text l. 9) and discussion on p. 286.

noted in this connection that the credit of having conquered the whole of Gōndwana given to Jayānanda in this record may just be an exaggeration. **Airavāṭṭa**, after which the ruler of that name was called, has been identified with Raṭāgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack district[1]. **Pōtōḍā** and **Lambēva** may provisionally be identified with Pōṭal in the Hindol State and Limba in the Narasinghpur State respectively. Puṇḍravardhana is the well-known ancient name for North Bengal. I cannot suggest any identification for Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura.

TEXT.[2]

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[3] svasty=akalita-kali-kāla-kalmasha-pravēś-āvakāśād=vijit-āśēsh-Ōjjyanī-guṇa-nikarāt [**Jayapurāt***][4] ||

2 Va(Ba)bhūva **Nand-ōdbhava-va(vaṁ)śa**-sambhavaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-Gōndramaḥ ||(|) dharādhipō dhamma(rmma)dharaḥ sudhīmān=śrīmān-**Ja-**

3 **yānanda** iti pravīraḥ || [1*][5] Yasmin=rājani dīnam=akshara-yugan=dēh=īti n=aiva śrutaṁ n=ātaṅkā[ḥ*] kuṣṭiti[6] kutō na cha

4 mṛishā dvandvan=na ch=āsīn=nṛiṇāḥ(ṇām) ||(|) śa[rvvaryyā]m ava(ba)lā sahāya-vikal-āhaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇī kshīvā yāty=ajanē vanē ya-

5 di puna-vvā(r=vvā)[rttā] Dilīpē nṛipē [|| 2*][7] Kanaka-ruchira-kāntiḥ prōnnataḥ pūrit-āśaḥ sphurita-vimala-ratnaḥ śūra-dūlla(rlla)ṅghya-mūttī(rttī)ḥ [|*]

6 vu(bu)dha-jana-nuta-pādō Mēru-vat-tasya sākshāt-priyatama-tanayō-bhūch=chhi(ch=chhrī)-**Parānanda**-nāma(mā) || [3*][8] Tasya(sy=ā)pi ch=āsīt-suvisu(śu)ddha-

7 pakshō vasuñ-janānāṁ khalu mānasē cha [|*] hansō(haṁsō) yathā hansa(haṁsa)-[samā*]-na-kīrtti[r*]-nnāmnā **Śivānanda** iti prasiddha-

8 ḥ || [4*][9] Tasy-ābhūt-tanayas=tṛiṇīkṛita-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvakō vā(bā)l-aiṇāṅka iv=ānvay-āmva(mba)ra-gatō yō='bhūtsn(t=pri)-

9 ya[ḥ*] prāṇināṁ(nāṁ) ||(|) tāra(ru)ṇyē taruṇī-vilōchana-puṭair=āpīta-rūp-āmṛitō **Dēvā-nanda** iti prasiddhim=aga-

10 mad=yaḥ svair=guṇair=nni[r]mmalaiḥ || [5*][7] Durvvār-āri-kar-īndra-kumbha-dalanē sphūjja-(rjja)t-karaḥ kēsarī śaśvan=māna-

11 vatī-mukh-āvja(bja)-jayakṛit=tīvrāṁśu(vrāṁśu)mālī sadā ||(|) tasmād=ēva **Vilā[sa*]tuṅ-ga**-nṛipatirbhū(r=bhū)tas=satīm=agraṇī-

12 ya(r=ya)sy=ōchchaiḥ sa(śa)rad-indu-dhāma-dhavalaṁ nityaṁ yasō(śō) varddhatē || [6*][10] Nakshatr-āvali-hāra-dāmakavatī nitya(tyaṁ)

13 nabhō-mandirē jōsnā(jyōtsnā)-chandana-lē[pa]n-ātidhavalā sānd(ndr)-āndhakār-ūmva(mba)-rā [|*] [ya*]sy=ōtu(ttu)ṅga-sudhā-gri-

14 hē=tidhavalē dig-yūshitān=darppaṇē sva(svaṁ) rūpamva(ṁ va)ra-kāmin=īva rajanī chandr-āmanā pasya(śya)ti || [7*][7] Yasy=ō-

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4.

[2] From the original and inked impressions.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] This name has been supplied here from Dhruvānanda's plate, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 30.

[5] Metre : *Upajāti*.

[6] Read *kuśrutiḥ* or *kuśrūtiḥ*.

[7] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Metre : *Mālinī*.

[9] Metre : *Upajāti*.

BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

Obverse.



P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: SEVEN TENTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reverse.



15 chchaiḥ sita-mandirā[d-dhva]ja-diśi(śī) prōtu(ttu)ṅga-haṭṭ-āvali su(su)bhrā chāru-sudhā-vikāra-racharais(śai)-chandr-ātapa-spardḍhinī |

16 dūrūd-bhūtī dṛisaḥ(śaḥ) padaṁ-gatavatī lōkasya sa[ñchā]riṇō ni(nai)hārōtkarabhūdharūd=iva sa(śa)nair-Mmandāki-

17 [nī syandat[ī][1] || [8*][2] Sa srī(śrī)-**Nanda-kul**-āmvu(mbu)j-ākara-raviḥ sad-vaṁsa(śa)-dipā(dīpō) nṛipas(ś)-chaṭ[ṭ-ārūtī(ti)-vadhū-mukh-āvja(bja)-sasa(śa)-

Reverse.

18 [bhṛid-rakt-ānta-dīrgh-ēkshaṇaḥ] — — —⏑⏑—⏑—⏑ pulakīkurvvan=jana[ñ-chē]shṭitaiḥ satya-tyāga-ka(ku)lābhi-

19 [māna-vi]nayā yasy-āṅgajāḥ sad-guṇāḥ || [9*][3] Dīpyat-pratāp-ū[na]la-[plushṭ-ārā]ti-mūrttiś=chatur-ambhōdadhi[4]-paryanta-bhrānta-

20 [sat-kīrttī]ya(r-ya)th-ō[chā]ta-[paryyavasthā]pita-varṇṇa-cha[tu*]shṭayaḥ p ū r i t-ā ś ē ṣ h a-praṇayi-jana-manōrathaḥ sajjana-jan-ā-

21 [na]nda-dāyī rakt-āmva(mba)ra pramaṇḍita-kaladhauta-ḍōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi(mbi)ta-prānta-krōḍa dīśa vinyasta-mayūra-cha-

22 ndrikā-nikara sita-chchhatr-āvabhāsamāna-sita-dhātumaya-gōdhā-si(śi)khariṇyita- l ō h i t a-lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhvāja[ḥ*] pa-

23 ramamāhēśvara- matā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-parama bhaṭṭāraka s a m a d h i g a t a-p a ñ c h a-mahāśavda(bda)-mahāśāma-

24 ntādhipati-śrī-**Dēvānandadēvaḥ** kuśalī Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha-Pōtōḍā-vishayē bhavishyad-yathā-

25 kāla-bhāvinō rājakāna[5] rāja-putrā[n*] Vrā(brā)hma[ṇa*]-purōgān-sāmantān-nivāsi-janapa-dān=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-ka-

26 raṇān-anyā[ni]ś-cha chāṭa bhaṭa-vallabha jāti(tī)yān-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ sarvvān=yath-ārhaṁ mānayati vō(hō)dhayati kuśa-

27 layaty-ādiśati ch-ājñayata(t)[i][*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vishaya-samva(mba)[ddha-*] **Lamvē(mbē)va**[6]-grām-ōdaya[7] sa-jala-stha[laḥ*]

28 sa-gartt-āvaskara[ḥ*] prajñāyamāna-chatu[ḥ*]-sīmā-paya(rya)ntaḥ Puṇḍa(ṇḍra)vardḍhana-vinirggata-Jamva(mba)ma-Nārāyaṇapura-Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-

29 sāmānya-Kāṇva-śākha-Yajurvvēdī(di)-Kṛishṇātrē[ya-gōtrāya*] Ārchchanānasa-Ś ā v ā ś ē ṭ i-hōtā[8] richavāvasa-vat dityadhvaya[9]

30 Ādityaddh(dha)ara-sutaś-cha Śaktiddha(dha)ra-suta-Vasma(Brahmaī)ddhara-bhāṣaḥ[10] ||[*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛi-

[1] This reading is clear in Dhruvānanda's plate. The correct form of the last word is *syandamānā*.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[3] Read *amḍhōḍhi-*

[4] Read *rājarāṅkēna* as in the Talmul plate.

[5] [The reading seems to be *Lamvē(bē)da*.—B. C. C.]

[6] [Possibly the intended reading is *-grāmē-'yam*.—B. C. C.]

[7] [This evidently refers to the *tryārshēya Pravara* of the donee, and is to be corrected as *Ārdy-Archchanānasa-Śyāvāśv-Āi hōtrē*. Compare *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, p. 57.—B. C. C.]

[8] The sense after *hōtā* is not clear.

[9] We have probably to amend the reading as *Ādityadhara-sutasya Śaktidharasya sutāya Brahmadhara-bhaṭṭāya*.

[10] This sign of punctuation is not needed.

31 ddhayē tāmvra[1]-śāsanēna pradattō=smābhiḥ[||*] yatas=tāmva[1]-śāsana-darśanād=asmakā(t-kā)ry-ā[nu*]rōdhāja(d=ya)thā-kāla-

32 [phala]-niyam-ōpabhujyamānā(na)[sya*] na kēn=āsya pata(ri)panthī(nthi)nā bhā(bha)vitavya-[m] [||*] Mā[bhū*]d=aphala-saṁ(śaṁ)kā vaḥ para-da-

33 tt=ēti pārthiva(vāḥ) [|*] sva-datā(ttā)[t*] pha[la]m=āna[ntyaṁ] para-datt-[ānupālanō] [||*] Sva-dattā[m=para-dattā*]m=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vi(vi)shṭhā[yāṁ*] [kṛ]-

34 [mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē] [||*] [Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rāja][bhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*|] yasya yasya [yadā*] [bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ] [||*] [Iti]

35 [kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ [2]]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm. Hail! From [**Jayapura**] which is exempted from the ingress of vices of the Kali Age and has surpassed all the qualities of Ujjayanī.

(Verse 1) There was born in the **Nandōdbhava** family a virtuous, extremely intelligent and surpassingly heroic king named **Jayānanda**, who, by dint of his own valour, subjugated the whole of Gōndrama.

(V. 2) It was during his kingship that the poor twin letters *dēhi* (i.e. 'give') were never heard; no diseases, no fraud from anywhere and no false quarrel ever occurred among the people, (*so much so that even*) a drunken woman, with her ornaments jingling, could pass through a desolate forest at night unescorted (*without being molested by any robber on the way*), whereas such (*a state of perfectly good rule*) is ascribed to king Dilīpa.[3]

(V. 3) He had a son, most beloved to him, the illustrious **Parānanda** by name, who, being of splendid golden complexion, dignified, having his ambitions fulfilled, bedecked with glittering flawless jewels, his person being unassailable by warriors, (*and*) deeply honoured by the learned, evidently resembled the Mēru (*mountain*) which is (*likewise*) endowed with pleasing brilliance on account of its gold, is very lofty, has occupied large space, is possessed of sparkling pure gems, with its bulk unscalable by adventurers (*and*) its foot frequented by the gods.

[1] Read *tāmra*.

[2] Only some traces of the rest of the verse are to be seen on the plate; it may be supplied as *śrīpam=anachintya manushya- jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=uddhṛitañ=cha buddhēñ nahi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ ||*

[3] Every word in the passage *śarvaryyām*, etc., has a special significance. Thus *śarvaryyām* = at night, an opportune time for committing robbery; *abalā* = woman, literally 'powerless one' whom it is easy to assail or overpower; *asahya-vikalā* = without any escort or companion, so that the crime can be perpetrated without any fear of immediate detection; *alaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇī* = her ornaments making a jingling noise, thereby assuring a handsome booty; *kshīvā* = drunken, thus too senseless to offer any resistance; *ajñē vanē* = in a jungle where there is no human being near by, so that there is no rescuing even if the victim shouts for help.

The author of the inscription indulges in poetic fancy, asserting that Jayānanda's virtues have mistakenly been attributed to Dilīpa. The description of Dilīpa alluded to is echoed in the following verses:

Yasmin mahīṁ śāsati vāṇinīnāṁ nidrāṁ vihār-ārdha-pathēṣ gatānām |
Vātō=pi n=āsrasyapad=anuddhatāni kō lambayēd=ūharaṇāya hastam ||
(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 75).

Na kēl=ānuśayas=tasya rājñō rakshitur=yaśaḥ |
Vyavṛiṇōd yat=para-svēbhyaḥ śrutau tasthuṣatī sthitā ||
(*Ibid.*, I. 27).

Trayaḥ śaṭhā na jīryanti Dilīpasya nirīkṣaṇē |
Sādhyāyya-phōṇhō jyā-ghōṣhō dīyatām= ūti vai trayaḥ ||
(*Mahābhārata*, XIII (*Śāntiparvan*), 29, 79).

The last verse rather presents a contrast: with Dilīpa a request never passed unfulfilled, while in Jayānanda's reign it never came to utter a request.

(V. 4) He, too, had a son, who was well-known by the name of **Śivānanda**, had faithful allies, and verily won the hearts of his pepole (*and*) whose fame shone forth like the sun, (*who was thus*) quite as a swan with pure white wings, dwelling in the Mānasa (*lake*).

(V. 5) He had a son, called **Dēvānanda**, who proved a veritable blazing fire to his enemies reduced to the state of straw, who, having ascended in the sky of his family, like a new moon endeared himself to (*all*) beings, whose nectar of beauty, in youth, maidens drank to their heart's content using their eyes as goblets, (*and*) who acquired renown through his stainless qualities.

(V. 6) He was a roaring lion in tearing asunder the frontal globes of the great elephants of the irresistible enemies and was always a sun in winning over the lotus-like faces of zealous women. On that account the present king was (*known*) as *Vilāsatuṅga*. He is the foremost among the pious and his fame, as white as autumnal moon-light, is intensely increasing everyday.[1]

(V. 7) The night having moon as her face, dense darkness as her garment, stars as a string of necklace, and appearing excessively fair due to the besmearing of sandal paste of moon-light, beholds, just like a beautiful woman in the chamber of the sky, her own image in his lofty and extremely white palace, which is a mirror to the ladies of the quarters.

(V. 8) From his white palace, towards the banners, the beautiful and white row of tall shops, on account of their whitewash, becoming a rival to the moon-light, looked at from a distance by the people moving about, appears like the Ganges gently flowing down from the Himālaya mountain.

(V. 9) This king, the light of the noble family, is a very sun to the lotus-lake (*in the form*) of the prosperous Nanda family, is a very moon to the lotuses that are the faces of his fierce enemies' wives, having large eyes with red ends.....excessively delighting the people with his doings. Truth, charity, family-pride and humility are his inborn good qualities.

(Ll. 19-24) The illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Dēvānandadēva**, who has through the blazing fire of his prowess consumed the bodies of his enemies, whose good fame has travelled as far as the four oceans, who has placed the four *varṇas* in their proper positions, fulfilled the desires of all the suppliants, gives delight to the virtuous men, who has a cloth-banner (*with the emblem*) of the red-eyed snakes wearing on their heads the alligators made of white

[1] [Mr. Panigrahi's above rendering of this verse seems to be responsible for the confusion he has made in the genealogy. It may be pointed out that the author has used the past tense in describing the first four rulers, while in the case of Vilāsatuṅga he employs the present tense, thereby indicating that the charter was issued by Vilāsatuṅga who has clearly been spoken of as *tasmād.....bhūtaḥ* 'who has been born from him (*i.e.* from Dēvānanda)'. This Vilāsatuṅga and the second Dēvānanda mentioned in l. 24 have been taken by me as referring to one and the same person because the descriptive attributes place them in apposition to each other and there is no such word used as *tasmāt* or *tasya* to indicate their relation otherwise.

The sixth verse may thus be explained as follows: "It was from him that the king Vilāsatuṅga has been born, who, clapping his hands, appears a very lion for tearing asunder the frontal globes of his enemies' huge elephants that are difficult to check, who always wins over a repeatedly offended lady (*as easily*) as the sun causes a lotus-bud to unfold, who ranks foremost among the virtuous (*and*) whose glory, as bright as the light of autumnal moon, ever grows further and further."—B. C. C.]

metal, that floats on the white umbrella held over the golden litter covered with red cloth, inlaid with peacock feathers in its inner side and with *chowries* hanging down (*from it*),[1] who is a devout worshipper of Śiva, who has acquired (*title to*) the five *mahāśabdas* (*and*), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, being in good health;

(Ll. 24-32) duly honours, intimates to, enquires after the health of and commands all those that will in course of time be, (*viz.*,) chiefs, princes, all the inhabitants of the country headed by Brāhmaṇas, feudatories, functionaries along with the *karaṇas*, and others of the class of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabha*, dependent on the king, in the Pūtōḍā *viṣhaya* included in the Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala*: "Be it known to you that the income[2] of the village *Lambēru*[3], along with its land and water, along with its pits and their contents, included in this *viṣhaya* (*of Pūtōḍā*), up to the four well-known boundaries, has been granted by Us, by means of a copper-plate charter, for the increase of the glory and religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself, to *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, a student of the Kaṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurvēda, belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, a *hōtṛi* having (*the triple pravara of*) [*Ātrēya*-]Ārchanānasa-Śyāvāśva,..... Wherefore, seeing this copper charter and having regard for our deed, nobody should cause any obstruction to him while he is regularly enjoying the seasonal yields (*of the gift*)."

(Ll. 32-35) [Here follow four of the customary verses.]

No. 8.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF CHOLA GANDARADITYA.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

In the short interval of about 32 years between Parāntaka who ruled from A.D. 907 to at least A.D. 953,[4] and Rājarāja I whose date of accession was A.D. 985, five members, *viz.*, Rājakēsarin Gaṇḍarāditya, Parakēsarin Arīñjaya, Rājakēsarin Sundara-Chōḷa, Parakēsarin Āditya II and Parakēsarin Uttama-Chōḷa, have to be accounted for. As they are usually designated in inscriptions, by their dynastic titles of Parakēsarin or Rājakēsarin, their identity has to be determined only by the internal evidence in the records, if any. The exact periods when these kings ruled are also not specified, except in the case of Parakēsarin Uttama-Chōḷa whose date of accession has been fixed to be A.D. 969-70[5].

With the help of three records belonging to a Rājakesarivarman copied from the Trichinopoly District, all of which are palæographically attributable to the 10th century A.D. and

[1] [This epithet, I think, is to be split up into two, one ending with *asaṅkāsamāna* and the other beginning with *sitadhāta*. Their construction is rather clumsy, but the first evidently describes the king's sedan (*ḍōḷikā*) and the second the royal banner over the palace. They may be translated as follows: "whose gold sedan is decorated with a red cloth, is flanked by suspended *chowries*, has its interior furnished with the feathers of the peacock's tail (*their eyes being seen prominently*), (*and*) shines forth with a white umbrella (*spread over*); whose banner with a snake (*emblem*) is surmounted by an alligator made of white metal (*sitadhāta*)".—B. C. C.]

[2] [This seems to be the translation of *grāma-ōdaya*. The word *udaya* does also mean 'income' but its adjuncts *sa-jala-sthalaḥ*, etc., do not justify the reading *udaya* in the text. The intended reading as suggested above (p. 79, n. 5) is probably *grāmō='yaṁ*, in which case the gift consists of the village itself.—B. C. C.]

[3] [See above p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

[4] There is a solitary record dated in the 48th year of the king at Vanamaladinne in the Chittoor District (No. 209 of 1931-32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

[5] No. 456 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

evidently relate to one and the same king of that title, an attempt is made herein to fix the initial date of Rājakēsarin Gaṇḍarāditya. The records under reference are :

Place.	Details of date.	Remarks.
1. Allūr[1] . .	5th year, Kaṉṉi, lunar eclipse[4] .	Mentions the son of Vīraśōḻa-Irukkuvēḷ.
2. Pālūr[2] . .	Ditto . . .	Mentions Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Parāntakaṉ-Vīraśōḻaṉ.
3. Do.[3] . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

From the surnames Parāntaka and Vīrachōḻa of the Irukkuvēḷ chief named Mahimālaya figuring in the two Pālūr inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3), it can be inferred that this chief had been a contemporary of Parāntaka *alias* Vīra-Chōḻa, and that the Rājakēsarivarman, in whose records also he figures, was evidently one who came after this Chōḻa king.

The occurrence of a lunar eclipse in the Kanyā month cited in the records is, however, an important astronomical detail, which is helpful in fixing the date. In the period of fifty years from A.D. 940 to 990, there were only three years in which such an eclipse occurred, *viz.*[5]:—

1. A.D. 954, September 15, Friday ; śu.15 (.35) ; Uttiraṭṭādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) (.15) ;
2. A.D. 955, September 4, Tuesday ; śu.15 (.92) ; Pūraṭṭādi (Pūrva-Bhādrapadā) (.50) and Uttiraṭṭādi (f. d. n. .49) ; and
3. A.D. 973, September 15, Monday ; śu.15 (.25) ; Uttiraṭṭādi (.03).

Of these, the last date may be left out of account as it would definitely fall in the 4th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḻa. The remaining two dates which are fortunately contiguous to each other and are removed by a period of one year only, would yield either A.D. 949-50 or A.D. 950-51 as the initial date of this Rājakēsarivarman.

However, a record from Nīrppaḷaṉi[6] in the Pudukkōṭṭai State said to be dated in the 10th year of a Rājakēsarivarman states that Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Parāntakaṉ-Vīraśōḻaṉ, who is identical with the chief figuring in the Pālūr inscriptions noted above, made a gift to the temple at Nīrppaḷaṉi, while he visited the temple at Tiruppālaṭṭuṟai during a lunar eclipse, which occurred in the Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra in the month of Kanyā. As the other details are identical, the regnal year read as 10 appears to be a mistake for 5 ; and Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra must have also been the star quoted in the portion lost in the Allūr inscription. It is quite possible also that the king had bestowed gifts to the four temples at Allūr, Pālūr, Nīrppaḷaṉi and Tiruppālaṭṭuṟai, all situated near to each other, on the same religious occasion of a lunar eclipse, while staying at the last-mentioned temple. A.D. 954 September 15, Friday, with Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra may therefore be selected as the date of these three records, in preference to the other date in A.D. 955. As this day fell in the 5th year of this king Rājakēsarivarman, the date of his accession would lie between A.D. 949, September 16 and A.D. 950, September 15.

[1] No. 366 of the same collection for 1903.

[2] No. 346 of the same collection for 1918.

[3] No. 348 of the same collection for 1918.

[4] In this record the portion containing the name of the *nakshatra* during which the eclipse occurred is built in, and the expression *paṟṟiṉa* is alone visible. The missing words were probably *Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatraṭṭu paṟṟiṉa* as in the Nīrppaḷaṉi inscription.

[5] According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, some other years in which such an eclipse occurred were A.D. 871, 889, 890, in the reign of Āditya I, a Rājakēsarin ; but the records cannot palæographically be attributed to that king.

[6] *Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, No. 30.

Who was this Rājakēsarivarman, whose date of accession was A.D. 949-50 ? We know from the Ātakūr record[1] that the combined armies of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and the Gaṅga Būtuga had defeated the Chōḷa army led by prince Rājāditya at Takkōlam in the North Arcot District and that this Chōḷa prince had also lost his life in the encounter. This record is dated simply in Śaka 872, current, Saumya, corresponding to A.D. 949-50 ; but in the absence of other details, its exact date cannot be calculated. From the foregoing facts it can, however, be inferred that soon after the death of the eldest prince Rājāditya in the end of A.D. 949, Parāntaka had nominated his second son Gaṇḍarāditya as the heir-apparent[2] in the beginning of A.D. 950, and that the latter began to count his own regnal years from this year onwards.

As some records[3] dated in the 8th year are definitely assignable to Gaṇḍarāditya, his reign may have extended from A.D. 950 to 957 at least.[4] His end is cryptically described in the expression '*Mēṟkeḻundaruḷiṉa-Dēvar*' i.e., 'he who was pleased to proceed west', but its significance is not quite clear. It is possible that he had lost his life in one of the skirmishes with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's army in occupation that may have occurred in the western frontier, and that this event was sought to be euphemistically expressed as 'a journey to the west', from which, however, the king probably never returned alive.

No. 9.—BIJHOLI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SOMESVARA : V. S. 1226.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYAS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The rock inscription under description was at first published by Kavirāja Śyāmaldās of Udaipur in 1886, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, part I (pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46) together with some other epigraphs. Since then it has been dealt with by many scholars in connection with the genealogy of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Śākambharī. But the transcript of the record as published by the Kavirāja was far from satisfactory[5] and the necessity for re-editing it properly has frequently been felt by scholars.[6] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, it appears, was to re-edit it[7], but as he has not been able to undertake the work so far, I have taken up the task at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

Bījholī is a small fortified picturesque town situated in 25° 10' N. and 75° 20' E., about 112 miles north-east of Udaipur. Its position is in the midst of what is known as the *ūparamāla* or the uppermost table-land called Pathār, in the Aravalli Hills. This table-land extends from Bārolli and Bhainsarorgarh in the south to Jahāzpur in the north through Menāl, Bījholī and Māṇḍalgarh, once forming an important portion of the Imperial Chāhamāna dominions of Sāmbhar and

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

[2] The statement in verse 21 of the Larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja I that after Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya succeeded to the throne, has to be taken to refer to this heir-apparency only (*ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256).

[3] No. 176 of 1907 and No. 574 of 1908 which are records of a Rājakēsarivarman refer to Piḷḷaiyār (Prince) Arikulakēsarin, who was the younger brother of Gaṇḍarāditya.

[4] It may be mentioned that the same dates have been suggested by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 180. The facts noted above support his chronological scheme for this period.

[5] The transcript of the record which the Kavirāja later on published in the *Vīra-vinōda* (Part I, pp. 383-89) is far better than the one under reference.

[6] Above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, n. 3 ; H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1082, n. 1.

[7] Above, Vol. XII, p. 222.

Ajmer. It now forms a part of the State of Udaipur. It is very rich in archæological remains, being possessed of numerous ancient monuments now mostly in ruins, of superb architectural and sculptural beauty, such as the temples at Bārolli and Menāl which Col. Tod[1] and James Fergusson[2] have so highly eulogised. The localities of Jahāzpur, Māṇḍalgarh, Bijholī, Menāl, etc., comprised in this tract, are also the find-spots of a number of epigraphs important for the chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. In fact, every nook and corner of this picturesque table-land has to narrate a story about itself through either sculptures, epigraphs or architectural remains. Princes of the Hūṇa tribe, it is said, were the first founders of towns like Bijholī here, and were the paramount lords of the whole country extending from near the Koṭā border to the precincts of Būndi.[3] This Hūṇa possession, in course of time, came under the Imperial Chāhamāna control through conquest and subsequently passed into the hands of the Guhilots of Mewār[4] and is still in their possession.

Thus, Bijholī[5] is an important archæological site with certain ancient temples of unique design and elaborate sculptures, still surviving. The place is at present held by one of the sixteen first-class *Umarāvas* or vassals of the Rāṇās of Udaipur, who is called the Rāo of Bijholī. He is an off-shoot of the Paramāra family, whose ancestors had come to Mewār from Jagner between Agra and Baiāna in about A.D. 1610.

The first antiquarian who visited this place was Col. James Tod who has described it in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1797-1800 (W. Crooke's ed.). Later on, Mr. Carlleyle, assistant to Major-General Alexander Cunningham of the Archæological Survey of India, paid a visit to the place and described it and its antiquities in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 234-52. Subsequently some other scholars, such as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, also had occasion to visit the place. Mr. Carlleyle stayed at Bijholī for about five days during which period he examined all that was of archæological interest and importance there, minutely describing them in his *Report*; but unfortunately due to heavy rains which prevented him from further exploration, he could not find the rock inscription under description the existence of which he knew from Tod only[6]. He has, therefore, not been able to tell anything about the present record.

The inscription is engraved on a flat undulating rock under a Mahuvā (*Bassia latifolia*) tree, within the encircling wall, towards the north of the big reservoir of water attached to the shrine of Pārśvanātha situated about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of the town of Bijholī. Tod has described this site in his "Personal Narrative", but his account is somewhat vague and confused, for, he here speaks of 'no less than five temples to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details'. But in reality, there is only one large Jain temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha with four small shrines on its four corners, as Mr. Carlleyle rightly observes[6]. Moreover, the architectural details of the temple of Pārśvanātha which Tod mentions as elaborate are really anything but elaborate. The whole style and execution of the temple is, as a matter of fact, so commonplace that there is hardly

[1] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1752-69 and 1796-1805 (W. Crooke's ed.).

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 448-451.

[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

[4] For the various spellings of this geographical place as used by various scholars, see Ray's *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1081, n. 7.

[5] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

anything of artistic interest. This temple of Pārśvanātha with the reservoir and the orchard attached is, at present, a Digambara Jain property and is under the supervision of Paṭavārī Hirālāl Kāmdār[1], a devout Digambara Jain and a lover of antiquity.

The surface of the rock containing the inscription is not smooth but rough and undulating, and hence it is very difficult to take impressions of the record. The rock has suffered for centuries from exposure and it was only very recently that Rāo Savāī Krishna Singh, the grandfather of the present Rāo Savāī Kesari Singh of Bījholī, erected[2] a small roof over the rock for protection. Wherever the rock was originally defective, it has been left blank; but now the portion of the rock used for engraving has also peeled off at places, and thus some of the important portions of the text have totally been destroyed. As regards **measurement**, the first line of writing on the rock is 5′ 3″ long and the last complete line is 12′ in length, the intervening lines gradually increasing in length both ways as we proceed downwards. The height of the inscription between the first and the last line is 3′ 6″. There are in all thirty lines of writing on the rock, of which the last one is even less than half.

Regarding **palæography** there is practically nothing remarkable. The initial vowel *i* which is used three or four times in the whole inscription, however, appears in its ancient form made up of two dots and a comma below, the modern form of the letter being totally absent. The consonant *jh* which occurs twice in two different geographical names, *viz.*, *Mārājharī* (l. 11) and *Laghu-Vījhōlī* (l. 29) is somewhat confusing, having been so formed as to appear like *kr*. The form of *s* is throughout similar to that of *t* except for a small notch on the lowest extremity of the left-hand side loop which is often imperceptible. *G* in its reduplicated form is throughout represented as *gn*.

In respect of **orthography** the most conspicuous point to be noted is the indiscriminate use of the sibilants, particularly the dental and the palatal, throughout the inscription, *e.g.*, *Nāśāsvāsēna* (l. 2), *Pārsvanāthaḥ* (l. 4), *subha-tatiḥ* and *chaturvvimsatiḥ* (l. 5), *saurycṣa* (l. 10), etc., of which the use of *s* in place of *ś* is more frequent than *vice versa*. Almost the same is the case with regard to the use of *v* and *b*, for examples, *cf.* *-nitambini-*, *vibhrati* and *nirvvādha-vōdh°* (l. 5), *valhāva* (l. 12), *sad-vuddhi-vandhura* (l. 13), etc., and *-baryuḥ* (l. 8), *-ballīm* (l. 18) and *banam* (l. 20). *J* is used in lieu of *y* in *jaṁ na(yan-na)* (l. 8) and *bhārjjayōr=* (l. 14). The sound of *kh* is sometimes represented by its proper sign, while in some cases the sign for *sh* is employed in its stead. Consonants following a superscript *r* are often reduplicated, *e.g.*, in *nishṭh-ārppitaṁ* (l. 1), *karmm-āṅmūlana-* (l. 5), *nirggataḥ* (l. 12), and so on; sometimes they are left single, as in *gōmbhīry-audāryaba(vi)ryaḥ* (l. 8), [*da*]*rśayāmi* (l. 19), etc. Nasals are throughout represented by *anusvāra*, the only exception being *Gaṅga(ṅgā)nātha* (l. 21). The sign for *avagraha* is employed about ten times.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and except for a few grammatical inaccuracies, the composition is free from errors. The clerical and engraving mistakes are, however, considerable. Thus, *sandhi* is not observed in some cases, while in others it is wrong. The transitive root *sū*, 'to beget, to produce' is used intransitively in *śrī-Jāsaṭā=sūta* (l. 13). The verbal noun *saṁsnātṛi* in *saṁsnātrī kōṭi-liṅgānāṁ* (l. 21) is used for its causative form *saṁsnāpayitṛi*. Some of the verses contain paronymous words and thus convey double meanings. The whole epigraph is in verse except adoration to Vītarāga in the beginning and a portion after the last verse in l. 29, commencing with the date in numerals and terminating with the last line, recording various donations of land made by different persons for the maintenance of the Pārśvanātha temple, which are in prose.

[1] I am indebted to this gentlemen as well as to Sādhu Sītārāmdās, both residents of Bijholī, for the kind help they extended to me when I was there in connection with the preparation of a transcript of the record under edition.

[2] Ojhā, *Rājputāne kā Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 1198.

The inscription is indeed 'difficult' as admitted by scholars like Professor F. Kielhorn[1]. This difficulty is, to some extent, due to careless engraving, but it chiefly lies in the ambiguous phraseology of certain verses of historical importance. Consequently their contents are open to more than one explanation. Some other historically important verses add to this difficulty by being overloaded with metaphors.

It is a Digambara Jaina record inasmuch as its main **object** is to record the erection of a temple to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jain pontiff, by a pious Digambara Jain named **Lōlāka**[2]. But its importance lies in the long list it supplies of the princes of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. The authentic and complete history of this ruling family is still not known. Till before A.D. 1875 the only source of information regarding the history of this dynasty was the well-known *Pṛithvīrāja-rāsō*, an epic poem written in the old Rājasthānī dialect, supposed to be the work of the famous bard Chanda who was a contemporary and the court-poet of the Chauhān Pṛithvīrāja. But the authenticity and the antiquity of the said work have been seriously doubted[3]. In the words of Mr. Vincent A. Smith we find that "the Chanda's *Rāesa*, as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the historian[4]". It was in the year 1875 that a birch-bark manuscript copy of an historical poem in Sanskrit called the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, written in Śāradā characters, was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmīr in course of his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The discovery of this fragmentary manuscript threw fresh light on the history and chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. A short account of this poem was first brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. J. Morison in his article entitled "Some Account of the Genealogies in the Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya", published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 188-192. This work is proved to have been composed during the lifetime of Pṛithvīrāja, the great Chauhān Emperor, from the fact that the poet Jayaratha, who flourished about A.D. 1200[5], has quoted certain verses in his work, the *Vimarśiṇī*[6], from this poem, and as such, the historical information it contains is genuine. The antiquity of this poem and therefore its historical accuracy is also vouched for by the fact that a commentary on it was written as early as about the middle of the fifteenth century by the well-known historian Jōnarāja, the author of the 'second' *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* written in A.D. 1448. The order of chronology of the Chāhamāna princes as given in this poem also found full support from the Harsha stone inscription[7] of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja dated in V. S. 1030, which mentions seven successive princes from Gūvaka (I) to Vigraharāja (II). But as the list supplied by this inscription was shorter than that given in the poem, some inscription of this period with a long list of these princes, exactly corresponding to that found in the poem, was a requisite so as to leave no room for suspicion. This desideratum has been supplied by the present rock inscription and therein lies its importance. The chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty as given in the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and as verified from the Bījholī rock inscription is, thus, to be accepted as authentic.

To take up now the **contents** of the record, we find that it opens with a salutation to Vītarāga in a small prose sentence. In v. 1 adoration is paid to that divine light produced in the (supreme) soul which has manifested itself in the form of the formula '*syāt*'. V. 2 describes Ṛishabhadēva,

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 62.

[2] This name is variously spelt in the inscription as Lōlāka (v. 49), Lōllaka (v. 51), Lōlla (v. 58) and Lōlaka (v. 83).

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, 1886, part I, no. I, pp. 5-65.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 29.

[5] Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 171.

[6] Bombay edition, p. 64.

[7] Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57-64.

the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Then is described Śāntināṭha, the sixteenth pontiff, in v. 3. In v. 4 are mentioned the marvellous activities of Nēmināṭha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara, who is said to have blown the Pāñchajanya conch of Lord Kṛishṇa by means of the breath of his nose, pulled his bow Śārṅga with his thumb and shook Halabhṛit with his finger. Then Pārśvanāṭha, the twenty-third apostle is described in v. 5. V. 6 is devoted to the description of Vardḍhamāna (Mahāvīra), the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. In v. 7 is adored the goddess of speech under two of her appellations, Śāradā and Bhāratī. Vv. 8-9 mention other divinities in a general way.

Then begins the **genealogical portion** covering vv. 10-28. V. 10, the first couplet of this portion, poetically describes the Chāhamāna-vaṁśa where the expression *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kshiti-rāja-vaṁśaḥ* comprising its first quarter is open to two different explanations. Almost all scholars appear to have taken this compound to mean *Śrī-Chāhamāna ēva kshitirāja-vaṁśaḥ* ' the royal or princely dynasty known as Chāhamāna ', for they regard the genealogy contained in this inscription to begin from Sāmanta[1] ; but the compound expression as well means *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kshiti-rājasya vaṁśaḥ* ' the family of the illustrious prince Chāhamāna ', in which case the present genealogy suggests itself to start from **Chāhamāna,** the eponymous prince born from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*[2] to whom the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*[3] of Nayachandra Sūri trace the origin of the tribe. Nothing, however, is said of him here as also in the two poems referred to above. It hardly needs any mention that the birth of this prince of great antiquity from the Sun, as recorded in ancient works like the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, clearly indicates the relation of the Chāhamāna princes to the race of Kshatriyas emanated from the Sun, and that the theory of their origin from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha on Mt. Abu as first propounded by Chanda, the author of the *Rāsō*, is merely a misleading fabrication.

In the next verse (v. 11) is given the description of Śākaṁbharā (Śākambharī), the guardian deity of the Chāhamāna race, born as the wife of Vishṇu. Most interesting to note in the present verse is the mention of the second prince of the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* lists, named Vāsudēva, as carving out his principality round the lake Śākaṁbharā (Sāmbhār) which region is here said to have become his mother or mother-country (*jan=īva*, l. 6). The author has evidently referred to Vāsudēva by the variant Vishṇu—a fact which has totally escaped the attention of scholars. Our author, it will be seen as we proceed further, is fond of employing variants in case of proper names, both geographical and genealogical. The word *tatō=pi* towards the end of this verse also indicates that the verse mentions some prince in descent from the one mentioned in the previous verse, who is undoubtedly Vishṇu or Vāsudēva ; and it thus also proves that *Chāhamāna* in the foregoing verse is used as the name of a prince and not as a mere family title. It is, thus, gratifying to find the genealogical lists of the Chāhamāna princes of Sāmbhar as given in the present rock inscription and the two historical poems referred to above, corresponding from the very starting point.

V. 12 is undoubtedly one of the difficult verses found in this portion for which scholars have offered more than one explanation. The verse describes a prince named **Sāmaṁta** who has been regarded as the very first prince mentioned in the present inscription. But taking Chāhamāna as the first prince on this list as already discussed above, this prince is the third in order of description. He, of course, seems to be the first prince of this line who had established himself with some

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270 ; above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, no. 154 ; Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1062 and 1084-82 ; Ojhā, *Rāj. Itihe.*, Ener. I, p. 363.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 263.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

stability in his ancestral land and maintained his position as a ruler. Neither the present inscription nor the said historical poems throw any light on the relation in which this prince stood to his predecessor ; but as all these three records appear to be unanimous in placing Sāmaṁta after Vishṇu or Vāsudēva, it seems reasonable to believe the former as the son of the latter. As to the various explanations offered for this verse, we find scholars like C. V. Vaidya inclined to accept the first half of it as quite independent of the second half taking it to mean that " There was a Brāhmin of Śrīvatsa-*gōtra* formerly in Ahichchhatrapura " ; and the second half of it according to them means that " From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanta of many *sāmantas*[1] ". In this explanation the text *Pūrṇṇatallē(llō)* finds no meaning. Dr. H. C. Ray, however, accepts Pūrṇṇatalla as a proper name of the prince who succeeded Sāmanta, but his explanation of the third quarter of the verse *Sāmaṁtō-naṁta-sāmaṁtaḥ* seems to be quite different. He appears to take *Sāmaṁtō-naṁta* as meaning ' Sāmanta who was also known as Ananta ' ; and the other *sāmaṁta* at the end of the quarter means ' a feudatory prince ' according to him. He, thus, takes the verse to mean that in Vishṇu or Vāsudēva's lineage ' was born Sāmanta also known as Ananta, who was a feudatory prince and a *vipra*, in the Vatsa-*gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura. From him was born Pūrṇatalla[2]'. The above explanation is certainly based on the meaning, as first given by professor Kielhorn[3] and later on, having been a little modified[4] by himself, now generally accepted by scholars, of the second quarter of v. 13 of the Harsha stone inscription that ' Gūvaka (from whom starts the genealogy in that inscription) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of prince Nāgāvalōka ', and also on the fact that in vv. 16 and 28 of that very epigraph, the country which the princes of this dynasty governed has been called ' Ananta or Ananta-*gōchara* '. He, thus, seems to have tried to explain the name Ananta-*gōchara* by assuming that it was called as such after the other name[5] of Sāmanta, which, as found in the present epigraph was Ananta. And as Gūvaka (I) is regarded a feudatory prince, Dr. Ray is inclined to accept *sāmaṁta* at the end of the third quarter of the present verse as meaning ' a feudatory prince ', thereby making prince Sāmaṁta also a feudatory. But the generally accepted explanation of the Harsha stone inscription text is itself not final. Kielhorn had himself to change the theory he first propounded regarding this chiefship of the Chāhamāna princes[6].

The plain meaning of the present verse of our record seems to be that ' formerly a *vipra* named **Sāmaṁta** having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in the Vatsa-*gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura. After him came the prince **Pūrṇṇatalla** ' (v. 12).

The use of the term *vipra* in connection with a ruling prince decidedly of the Kshatriya stock is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called *vipra* and sometimes *mahīdēva*. A correct explanation of the use of such terms has not yet come forth. In my article on the ' first and third slabs of Kumbhalgarh inscription ', I have tried to show that such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might have acquired[7]. I am, now, further inclined to think that the word *mahīdēva* must have originated

[1] C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 93.
[2] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1061-62.
[3] Above, Vol. II, p. 117.
[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.
[5] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1064.
[6] Above Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.
[7] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 308.

itself in connection with ruling princes as its very formation shows. Having then been applied to *vipras* or Brāhmins, most divine and venerable as they stood in the social rank of the age, it seems to have become a synonym of *vipra* in course of time, so much so that thereafter the latter came in use to denote royalty in place of the former. Even to-day the application of the term *mahārāja*, undoubtedly a princely title, to a Brahmin is not unfrequent; and the terms *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vipra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahīdēva*, etc., appear to have become almost synonymous. Thus, *vipra* may have been used here for *Mahīdēva* 'a ruling prince' who, in the present case, as we know from other sources, was a Kshatriya of the solar race.

The theory of Kshatriyas having *gōtras* like Vatsa, Vasishṭha, etc., has been sufficiently discussed by scholars and it is unnecessary to dilate on it here.

The identification of Ahichchhatrapura which is here stated to have been Sāmanta's original seat of government has also been a subject of much discussion. As the original home of the Chāhamānas is also called Sapādalaksha in many other inscriptions, some scholars like Bhagvānlāl Indraji[1] and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to regard this name as the original Sanskrit form of the modern name Śiwālik which is a range of hills below Dehra Dun in the Saharanpur District, U. P., and thus, according to them, this Ahichchhatra must have been a town in that region in the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley, from where the dynasty migrated southwards. But the testimony of the two literary works referred to above, viz., the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, as also the evidence and the provenance of the earliest inscriptions of the tribe so far discovered, and the identification of most of the places mentioned therein, would suggest the Śākambharī region to have been the cradle of this race. The epigraphic as well as the literary tradition regarding the capture of Delhi, the capital of the Tōmaras, by the Chāhamānas as supported by references to occasional conflicts between some of the earlier princes of both the tribes would also indicate the movement of the latter to have been northwards from Sāmbhar and not towards Sāmbhar from the north. This Ahichchhatrapura, therefore, has to be identified with some place in the Śākambharī-*pradēśa* itself where Vishṇu (Vāsudēva), the predecessor of Sāmanta, had carved out his principality. Rai Bahadur Ojhā has identified it with Nāgapura, modern Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State[2].

After Pūrṇatalla came the princes **Jayarāja, Vigrahanṛipa, Chandra, Gōpēndraka, Durllabha, Gūvaka, Śaśinṛipa, Gūvāka, Chandana, Vappayarāja, Vindhyanṛipati, Sinharāṭ, Vigraha, Durllabha** (II), **Guṇḍu, Vākpati** and his younger brother **Vīryarāma** (v. 13).

Except a bare enumeration of these princes, even the relation in which each succeeding prince stood to his immediate predecessor is not known from this verse for which we may resort to the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the Harsha stone inscription. Thus, the former states that Jayarāja was the son of Sāmanta, Vigrahanṛipa and Chandra were respectively the son and grandson of Jayarāja, Gōpēndraka was the brother of Chandra, and Durllabha was Chandra's son, *i.e.*, Gōpēndraka's nephew. We have no other information from any source regarding these first five princes. Only vague praise is assigned to them in certain literary works due to which some scholars regard them as insignificant[3]. The last prince of this category, viz., Durllabha or Durlabharāja is stated in the *Pṛith. vij.* to have been succeeded by his son Gōvindarāja, but the present record places Gūvaka after Durllabha. According to Rai Bahadur H. B. Śārdā, Gūvaka and Gōvindarāja are

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 157 and p. 158, n. 1.

[2] *Nāgarī-Pracharinī Patrikā*, Vol. II, part III, see also *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVIII (1922), p. 289.

[3] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1062.

both identical [1]; and the Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030 referred to above, gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna princes up to Vigraharāja II (Vigraha of the present verse) from Gūvaka who has been unanimously identified with Gūvaka of the present inscription. Thus, Gūvaka of the inscription of V. S. 1030, Govindarāja of the said historical poem and Gūvaka of this record is one and the same prince. According to the explanation of the second quarter of verse 13 of the Harsha stone inscription as first given by Prof. Kielhorn, this Gūvaka was a feudatory prince attaining pre-eminence as a hero in the court of Nāgāvalōka, who has been identified with the Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (A. D. 815).[2] Regarding the above explanation Prof. Kielhorn himself had, later on, felt some doubt as already alluded to by me above, and the verse can be explained in a different way also[3]. It is, however, strange to note that Major Erskine has omitted[4] this name in his list of princes of this dynasty, though the name is found in all the records including the one under description.

According to the *Pṛithᾱ. vij.*, Gūvaka was succeeded by Chandrarāja (II) whom our author calls Śaśinṛipa. His fondness for using synonyms in proper names is here again displayed as in the case of Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).

Gūvāka, the next prince mentioned here, styled Gūvaka (II) in both the *Pṛithᾱ. vij.* and the Harsha stone inscription, was the son of Chandrarāja. He was succeeded by his son Chandana to whom is attributed by the latter record the slaying in battle of a Tōmara prince whose name according to Kielhorn is Rudrēna[5] which he equates with Rudrapāla. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes this name to be Rudra[6]. His son and successor was Vappayarāja called Vākpatirāja in the *Pṛithᾱ. vij.* who is said in the Harsha inscription to have put to flight one Tantrapāla. The same inscription gives him the title *Mahārāja*. He had three sons of whom the youngest named Lakshmaṇa established himself at Nāḍol and was the founder of the Mārwār branches of the Chāhamānas. His successor was Vindhyanṛipati whom scholars like Śārdā[7] and Ray[8] do not regard a prince at all, evidently being misled by the text *Vappayarāja-Vindhyanṛipatiḥ* of Kavirāja Śyāmaldās's faulty transcript. But the text on the rock is *Vappayarāja-Vindhyanṛipatī*, a dual form, evidently containing the names of two princes; and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right when he takes him as the successor of Vappayarāja[9]. It may be noted in this connection that excepting the names *Saśinṛipa* and *Vīryarāma*, this verse mentions all other names either in a combination of two or three. Nothing, however, is known of Vindhyanṛipati from any source. He was succeeded by Siṁharāṭ, the son of Vappayarāja, who is stated in the Harsha inscription to have subdued a Tōmara *Nāyaka* or chief Salavaṇa[10], and built a Śiva temple which the *Pṛithᾱ. vij.* locates at Pushkar. His title was *Mahārājādhirāja*. Next prince was Vigraha (Vigraharāja II), the son of Siṁharāṭ. The Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030, which is the oldest record of the dynasty so far discovered, belongs to the reign of this prince. The *Pṛithᾱ. vij.* assigns to him the conquest of the country as far south as the Narmadā and the defeat of the

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 265-66.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 239-40 and Vol. XLII, p. 58.
[3] Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.
[4] *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III-B, p. 65.
[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 121, v. 14 and p. 117 and n. 3.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 58, n. 2.
[7] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.
[8] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1063.
[9] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.
[10] Some scholars have taken 'Salavaṇa' to mean 'together with Lavaṇa'. In that case the name of the Tōmara *Nāyaka* remains unknown.

Gurjara prince Mūlarāja who fled to the fort of Kanthādurga in Cutch. He is also stated to have built a temple to the goddess Āśāpurī, one of his family guardians, at Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) in Gujarāt. After him came Durllabha, his younger brother, regarding whom we have no information except that his minister's name was Mādhava. The Kinsariyā inscription[1], however, states that he earned the epithet *Durlaṅghyasmēru* and conquered the country called Āsōśittana (Rāsōśittana). His successor was his son Guṇḍu, whom the *Pṛith. vij.* calls Gōvindarāja (II). According to the *Prabandhakōśa*[2], he won a victory over Sulṭān Mahmūd. If this Sulṭān is identified with Mahmūd of Ghazni, the event will be one that took place in A.D. 1025[3] when he was on his way to Sōmanātha through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But as the event does not find mention in an authentic work like the *Pṛith. vij.*, some scholars are doubtful regarding the reliability of this statement of the *Prabandhakōśa*[4]. Gōvindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatiṇṛipa (Vākpatirāja II), who, according to the *Pṛith. vij.*, rent asunder with his dagger the mouth of Aṁbāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa (mod. Āhaḍ near the Udaipur Railway station) and thus sent him to the abode of Yama. This Aṁbāprasāda is the same as Āmraprasāda of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331[5], who was the son of the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra. The last prince mentioned in this verse is Vīryarāma whose name is followed by the word *anujaḥ* showing that he was the younger brother of Vākpatiṇṛipa and therefore one of the sons of Guṇḍu as accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[6]. Dr. Ray, however, calls him the son of Vākpati. He was killed by the Paramāra prince Bhōja (A.D. 1010-1055), according to the *Pṛith. vij.* The word *anujaḥ* with which ends this verse has also to be construed with the first prince mentioned in the next verse viz., Chāmuṇḍa, who is definitely stated in the said poem to be the brother of Vīryarāma.

After [**Chāmuṇḍ**]**a** whose epithet was *Rāṇaka-vara*, came **Siṁghaṭa**, his brother **Dūsala** and **Vīsala**. After him (Vīsala) came his son **Pṛithvīrāja**, and thereafter his son **Ajayadēva** (v. 14).

Chāmuṇḍa, as has already been noticed, was the younger brother of Vīryarāma whom he succeeded. The *Pṛith. vij.* calls him Chāmuṇḍarāja and attributes to him the building of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu at Narapura (mod. Narwar in the Kishengarh territory) situated at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer[8].

He is stated here to have been succeeded by Siṁghaṭa whose name is missing elsewhere. His relation with his predecessor is also not known but he is accepted as the prince who succeeded Chāmuṇḍa both by Kielhorn[7] and by Bhandarkar[8].

After him came his brother Dūsala called Durlabha or Durlabharāja (III) in the *Pṛith. vij.* He was also called Vīrasiṁha. As to whose son he was, there is no clue in the present epigraph. The *Pṛith. vij.* calls him the son of Vīryarāma[9], but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Chāmuṇḍa.[8] He is here stated to be the brother of Siṁghaṭa and if he was the son of Chāmuṇḍa as Dr. Bhandarkar believes, then Siṁghaṭa, whose relation with his predecessor is not yet known, was also an elder son of Chāmuṇḍa. He is stated in the said historical poem to have been killed in a battle with the *Mātaṅgas* (*Mlēchchhas* or Musalmāns).

[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.
[2] *Gaṇḍavaho*(ed. B. S. S.), Introduction, p. cxxxvi, note.
[3] Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 113.
[4] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069.
[5] *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.
[6] *J. B. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 1.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 14.
[8] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.
[9] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069, and *J. B. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

His successor was Vīsala, Vigraharāja (III) of the *Pṛith. vij.* and Viśvala of the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*. The former poem states that he gave to Udayāditya of Mālwā (A.D. 1059-1087) a horse named Sāraṅga with the aid of which he vanquished Karṇa, the Gurjara prince. The present inscription gives **Rājadēvī** as the name of his queen.

His successor was his son Pṛithvīrāja (I) whose queen's name as found here is **Rāsalladēvī**. The *Pṛith. vij.* attributes to him the killing of a body of 700 Chaulukyas who had come to rob the Brāhmaṇas of Pushkara-*tīrtha*. Only one inscription of his reign, *viz.*, the Rēvasā stone inscription[1] dated in V.S. 1162 (A.D. 1105) has been found. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes him to be the son of Durlabha[2] and not that of Vīsala as recorded in both the *Pṛith. vij.* and the present epigraph.

The next prince was Ajayadēva, the son of Pṛithvīrāja (I), called Ajayarāja *alias* Sallaṇa in the *Pṛith. vij.* His queen's name as recorded in this verse is **Sōmalladēvī**, called Sōmalēkhā in the said poem according to which she used to coin fresh *rūpakas* every day. The same poem attributes to the reign of this prince the foundation of the city of Ajayamēru, modern Ajmer. Dr. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Vīsala.[3]

Verse 15, which contains the achievements of Ajayadēva, is another important verse in the present record as whatever historical information is derived from this and the following verses is not found elsewhere. Ajayadēva is stated here to have killed three heroes **Chachchiga, Siṁdhala** and **Yaśōrāja** towards the identification of whom no scholar seems to have yet made any attempt. Perhaps a clue to their identity is to be found in the expression *Śrīmārgga-Durdd-āvcitaḥ* at the end of the first half of this verse. *Avcitaḥ* appears to mean 'connected or associated with', and the first two words seem to be the names of two geographical places with which the heroes mentioned were connected. Thus, it is evident that these heroes were associated with the localities of **Śrīmārgga** and **Durdda**. The word *vīra* shows that probably they did not belong to any of the principal ruling families, but may have been feudatories of an inferior rank of some one of them. Śrīmārgga as it stands, appears to have been used as a variant of Śrīpathā or Śrīpatha which has been identified by J. F. Fleet[4] with modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State. The tendency of our author's mind towards the use of synonyms is here again discernible. We, thus, find that it was Ajayadēva who took the first step towards conquering the northern plains of India and extending the boundary of his ancestral territory which attained its culminating point in the reign of his grandson Vigraharāja (IV) as we shall presently see. This northward expansion seems to have begun in two different directions—one through Bayānā in direct north and the other through Durdda which on phonetic grounds may be identified with modern Duddai or Dūdhai in central India in the neighbourhood of the Chāhamāna domain in an easterly direction. The latter place seems to have been important in the ancient country of Jējākabhukti governed by the Chandrātrēyas. This country itself, as known from one of the stone inscriptions found at Madanpur, a little way to the south-east of Dūdhai, was completely conquered in V. S. 1239 by Pṛithvīrāja, the great Chāhamāna ruler, who was the son of Sōmēśvara and grandson of Arṇōrāja[5]. Ajayadēva was, thus, the first powerful king of this lineage who took the initiative in enlarging his kingdom and carving out a path for his descendants for further expansion. That he actually brought the country as far as Bayānā under his own control is also evidenced by the discovery of certain silver and copper coins bearing his name which are frequently found in Rājputāna and Mathurā[6]. The latter half of the verse mentions his other exploit which was the tying of one **Sōllaṇa**, a commander-in-chief (*Daṁḍanāyaka-varaḥ*), to a camel in the field of battle. This fact is also corroborated from

[1] *P. R. A. S.*, Western circle, 1909-10, p. 52.

[2] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 239.

[4] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1084.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1071.

the *Prith. vij.* which states that he defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Mālwā. But as there was no king of this name ruling over Mālwā during that period, it seems to have been the name of a general as mentioned here, of the then Paramāra prince, possibly Naravarman, ruling over Mālwā.

V. 16 mentions **Arṇōrāja** as the son and successor of Ajayadēva. The next verse (v. 17), the interpretation of which is rather difficult, appears to contain some important historical fact under the veil of metaphor. The first half of it seems to mention the retaliation this prince had on the kingdoms of **Kuśa** and **Vāraṇa**[1]. We already know that his father Ajayadēva had extended his dominion both towards the north up to Bayānā and towards the east up to Dūdhai; and the kingdoms lying beyond these localities must have naturally cherished hostility for Arṇōrāja who was now a formidable neighbour. They might have even attacked him, but he seems not only to have repulsed the attack but also to have added fresh territories to his father's dominion. He, thus, took the second step towards the paramount sovereignty of Āryāvarta lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, which his son Vigraharāja (IV) was destined to enjoy for the first time, having himself taken the third step by way of capturing Delhi and Hānsi, as we shall just see. Kuśa, as the name of a kingdom, may denote Kuśasthala or Kanauj[2] where the route may have been northwards from Dūdhai already in possession. The kingdom of Kanauj had been fast fading in importance at this time due to the increasing influence of the Chāhamānas. Vāraṇa is the well-known ancient name of Bulandshahar[3] near Delhi which was, during this period, under the control of Ḍūḍas or Ḍūḍiyas, one of the thirty-six royal races of the Rājputs mentioned by Tod. An inscription dated in V. S. 1233 found at Bulandshahar mentions sixteen generations of this dynasty which ruled there[4]. Arṇōrāja might have made further progress by proceeding to this place from Bayānā making the ruling prince there his tributary. He, thus, seems to have still further enlarged his kingdom northwards up to Bulandshahar and Kanauj. The next half of the verse appears to contain an account of his relation with the Paramāra kingdom of Mālwā. We know from a stone inscription found in the *Aḍhāī-din-kā-jhōṃpaḍā* at Ajmer and now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, that Arṇōrāja's father Ajayadēva had conquered the country up to Ujjain, the capital of Mālwā. This clearly shows the hostility existing between the two kingdoms. Ajayadēva is also stated in the previous verse to have barbarously treated Sōllaṇa, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the Mālwā prince. Arṇōrāja is here stated to have shown disrespect to one called **Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa** and thus brought him to humiliation. *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, as we already know, was the epithet of the Paramāra prince Naravarman[5] who was a contemporary of both Ajayadēva and Arṇōrāja, and what is mentioned here plainly refers to him. The text *Ubaṅga-karaṇaṁ śrī Dēvarājaṁ prati*, the concluding portion of the verse, also seems to refer to Naravarman, who, having been called Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa is looked upon as Dēvarāja, the lord of gods. The employment of the term *Dēvarāja* is evidently for the sake of suiting the other sense of the verse relating to the ocean (*Arṇōrāja*). This prince might have thus attacked the Mālwā country and subdued its ruler either independently or he may have assisted his father-in-law, the Chaulukya prince Jayasiṁha (Siddharāja) who waged war against Naravarman, continuing for full twelve years in order to avenge himself of the latter's attack on his capital in his absence when on a pilgrimage to Sōmanātha[6]. The *Prith. vij.* states that he also completely vanquished the Musalmāns (*Mātaṅgas*) who came across the desert (Marusthali)[7].

[1] [From the context *Kuśavāraṇa* seems to comprise only one kingdom.—Ed.]
[2] N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23 *s.v.* Baraṇa; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 458.
[4] Ojhā, *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, p. 239. [5] Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 397.
[6] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 969-70.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1073 and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 273.

His son was **Vigraharāja** (v. 18). **Sajjana,** 'the only wicked person on earth, took his way towards (*the house of*) Kṛitāṁta' ; and **Kuṁtapāla,**' the keeper of lance, came to a state of utter lancelessness' (v. 20). He, due to resentment made **Jāvālīpura,** a city of flames ; **Pallikā,** an insignificant village ; and **Nad(dd)ūla,** like a bed of reeds (v. 21). He is stated to have 'made his fame take rest on each street of towns and on each roof of dwellings, which was fatigued due to the capture of **Ḍhillikā** and was lagging behind owing to the acquisition of **Āśikā**' (v. 22).

This Vigraharāja, the son of Arṇōrāja, was the monarch in whose reign the Chāhamāna power attained its climax. He may rightly be called the first Chāhamāna Emperor of India, justifying what has been spoken of him in the small Delhi Siwālik Pillar inscription[1] dated in V. S. 1220 (A.D. 1164). The identification of Sajjana mentioned in v. 20 is somewhat difficult. This name may refer itself to the *Daṁḍādhipati* whom Chaulukya Jayasiṁha had appointed to superintend the affairs of Surāshṭra which he conquered having defeated and killed in battle the Ābhīra ruler Navaghaṇa[2]. If this identification is correct, then the southward extension of the Chāhamāna domain as far as Vindhya as recorded in the inscription of V. S. 1220 referred to above, becomes justified to some extent. Kumārapāla, the contemporary Chaulukya prince, was indeed a formidable monarch and the country of Surāshṭra was a part of his dominion. But Vigraharāja was no less powerful, and hostilities between these two neighbouring powers had already broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārapāla who had twice attacked his father Arṇōrāja[3]. It is thus possible that this Chāhamāna prince extended his arms against Surāshṭra in order to avenge himself, and, having killed its governor Sajjana who might have grown very old by this time, took that land in his possession. Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī has already drawn the attention of scholars[4] to an inscription of Sajjana dated in V. S. 1176 (A.D. 1120) located in the temple of Nēminātha at Girnār.

As regards the identification of Kuṁtapāla who had to throw away his weapons (v. 20) in presence of Vigraharāja, we have no difficulty. Muhaṇōta Naiṇasī informs us that when Kītū or Kīrtipāla, the founder of the Sōnagarā branch of the Chāhamānas, took possession of Jālor, the ruling prince there was Paramāra Kuṁtapāla[5]. Vigraharāja, as we already know, was a contemporary of Chaulukya Kumārapāla and so was Alhaṇadēva[6], the father of Kītū. Thus, Vigraha and Alhaṇa were both contemporaries ; and as Kuṁtapāla of Jālor was living when attacked by Kītū, it goes without saying that he was a contemporary of Alhaṇa and also of Vigraha. Thus, our prince seems to have invaded the Paramāra territory of Kuṁtapāla and even set fire to his capital town Jāvālīpura, *i.e.*, Jālor (v. 21), the reason for which is, however, not known. This hard stroke at the hands of this powerful monarch must have rendered Kuṁtapāla very weak, and this is why Kīrtipāla took no time in turning him out of Jālor soon after, and establishing himself there as the founder of the Sōnagarā branch. He also reduced Pallikā (modern Pālī in Jodhpur State), a flourishing town in ancient times, to a state of utter insignificance (v. 21). He is also mentioned to have turned the town of Naddūla (mod. Nāḍol) into a bed of reeds (v. 21). Nāḍol, at this time, was invaded and ultimately annexed to the Chaulukya Empire by Kumārapāla due to a predecessor of Alhaṇa ruling there, siding with Arṇōrāja, his enemy, in the fight that took place between the two princes in V. S. 1207, and was put in charge of a *Dūṁḍanāyaka* named Vaijāka[7]. It was Alhaṇadēva who regained his ancestral dominion of Nāḍol through constant assistance to Kumārapāla which secured him the favour of the Chaulukya ruler who ultimately

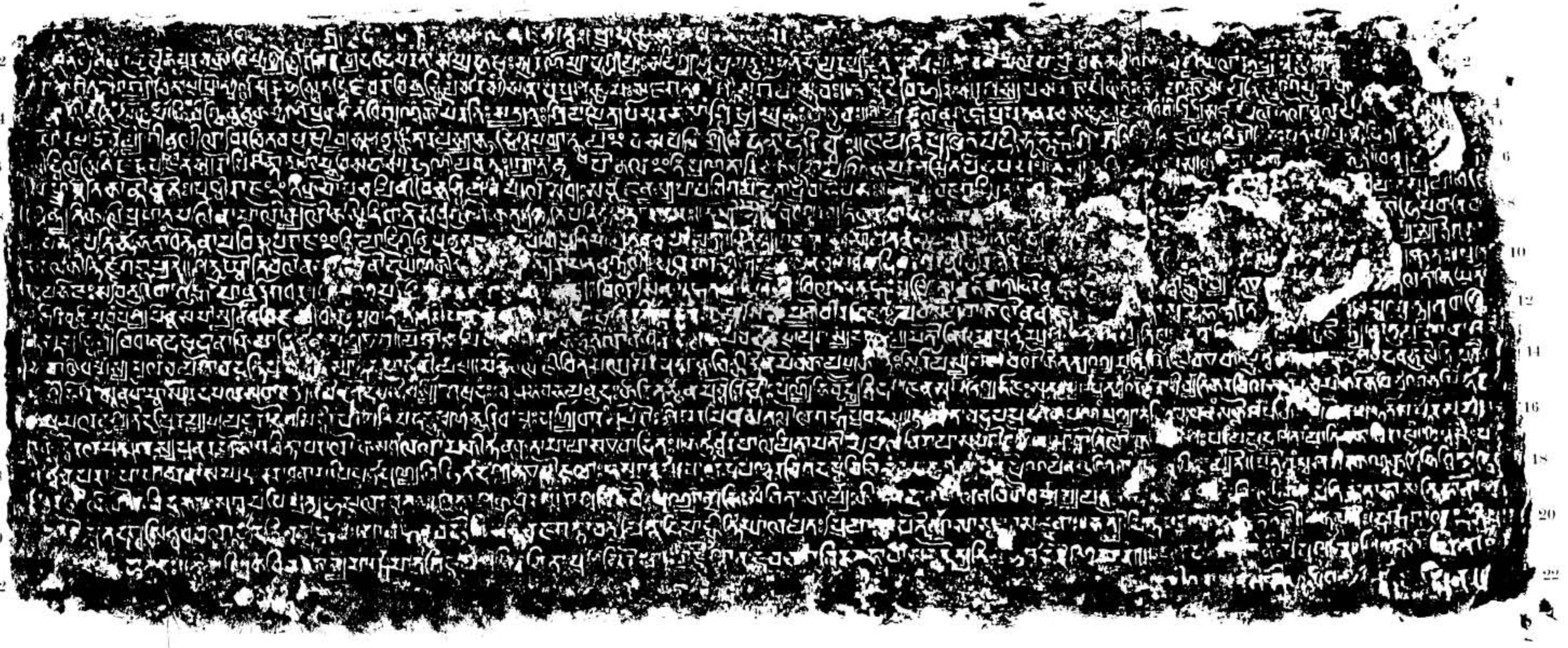
[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 218 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1073.
[3] His *Kāvya*, part I, p. 152 ; Ojhā, *Sirohī-rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 170.
[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 176-77.
[5] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 962.
[6] Above, Vol. IX, p. 83, n. 8.
[7] Above, Vol. XI, p. 70.

restored him his territory. This allegiance of Alhaṇa to Kumārapāla must have caused the indignation of Vigraharāja who devastated Nāḍol as mentioned here and avenged the breach of faith[1].

His last exploit mentioned was the capture of Ḍhillikā (Delhi) and the acquisition of Āśikā (Hānsi) (v. 22) from the Tōmara prince Anaṅgapāla III[2]. This, as I have already mentioned, was the third and the last step taken by this prince towards completion of the task set afoot by his grandfather Ajayadēva and successfully carried out by his father Arṇōrāja, *viz.*, the extension of Empire. Arṇōrāja had already reached Bulandshahar and Kannuj, and his son, the presnt prince, proceeding still further towards the north, brought the entire Āryāvarta under his control. Hitherto we certainly knew from other records that he was a paramount sovereign ruling over the whole of Hindustān lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, but it looked rather abrupt as to how he could make so vast an acquisition in course of a single generation. Our epigraph now clearly shows that the acquisition was not abrupt but gradual and was the result of constant activities covering three successive generations. By this extension he naturally came into contact and conflict with the Yāminis of Ghazni and the Punjab, whom he totally exterminated as stated in the Siwālik Pillar inscription. The portraiture of this prince will be partial if we fail to note that he was not only a distinguished warrior but also a distinguished man of letters. As the author of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka*[3], he ranks among the best dramatists of India. His court-poet Sōmadēva was the author of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*[4]. He was so great a patron of learning that with his death the name "the friend of poets" disappeared[5].

After him came **Pṛithvīrāja** (II), the son of Vigraharāja's elder brother (v. 23). It is indeed strange to note that the latter had an elder brother whose name is not recorded in the present genealogy. A clue to this mystery is found in the *Pṛithv. vij.* which, though omitting his name, states that the eldest son of Arṇōrāja or the elder brother of Vigraharāja "rendered to him (his father) the same service as Bhṛigu's son (*i.e.*, Paraśurāma) had rendered to his mother[6]." This statement shows that he murdered his father. The name of this parricide is, however, mentioned in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* as Jagadēva, who is there also stated to have succeeded his father. It is quite possible that after murdering his father he might have ascended and held the throne for some time; but as a parricide he must have naturally lost all support from his subjects, and before he could consolidate his position on the throne, he seems to have been ousted easily by his younger brother Vigraharāja. It is due to this dark character that he has been passed over in silence by our author. He is, however, not ignorant of him as he mentions the present prince Pṛithvīrāja, as his son. The *Pṛithv. vij.* mentions a son of Vigraharāja named Aparagāṅgēya[6] who was his rightful successor, but it also states that he died very young and unmarried. Thus the throne passed on to Pṛithvīrāja. This prince is here stated to have been very charitable, donating a village named **Mōrājharī** to Pārśvanātha (v. 24) the erection of whose temple the present inscription records. It may be noted that Col. Tod and Mr. Carlleyle have read the name of this village as Mōrakara[7] and Mōrakūrō[8] respectively, the former regarding it as an independent village situated just where the Pārśvanātha temple now stands, and the latter as another name of Viṇḍhyavallī (Bijholī). But though the third constituent syllable of the name of this village looks like *kra* or *ku*, it has to be understood as *jha*. This sign occurs in a slightly altered form in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-212.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[4] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 155.
[5] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.
[6] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.
[7] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1799 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[8] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.



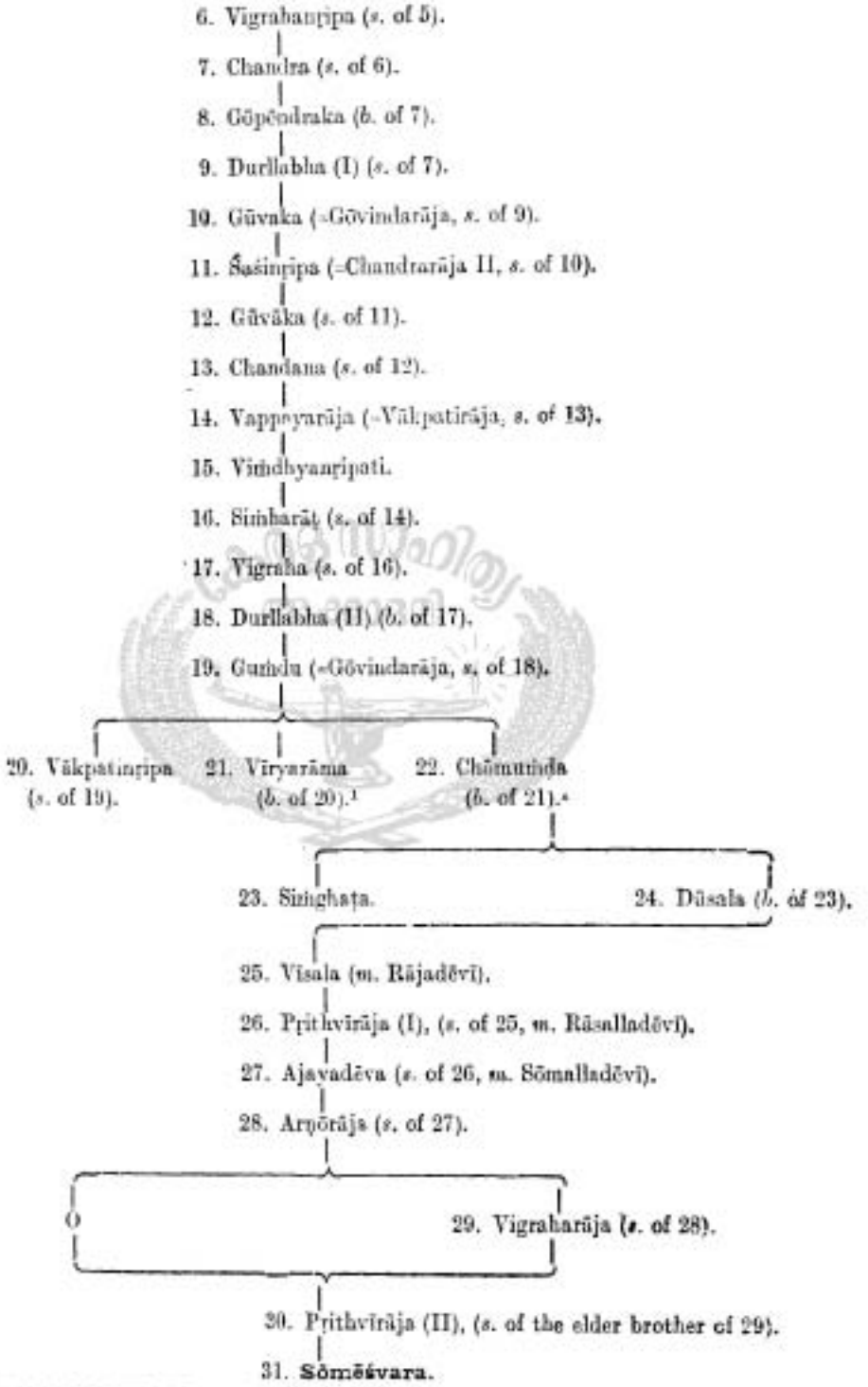
the name of another village mentioned towards the end of l. 29, viz., Laghu-Vijhōlī, the reading of which is certain. It is, therefore, reasonable to read the name of this village as Mōrājharī, *i.e.*, 'a stream of pea-cocks'. No village of this name is, however, now known near about Bijholī. *Mōrakarā* as the name of a village occurs in the Nāḍol plates[1] of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of V. S. 1218, as being one of the twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāī which Alhaṇadēva and his heir-apparent Kēlhaṇa were pleased to give to Kīrtipāla. Thus, Mōrakarā or Mōrakara was a part of Kīrtipāla's possession in Mārwār at that time, and our prince could not legally donate it. This Pṛithvīrāja is also mentioned to have attacked a prince named **Vastapāla** whose handsome elephant, Manasiddhi by name, he took away (v. 25). Vastapāla is difficult of identification. He may, on phonetic grounds be identified with Vasantapāla of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, with whose daughter prince Vigraharāja is represented to be in love. Although no prince of this name living at this period has yet been known, he surely seems to have been one contemporary of Vigraharāja as also of his successor Pṛithvīrāja. The name, according to Prof. Kielhorn, looks as if belonging to the Tōmaras of Delhi[2].

Pṛithvīrāja was succeeded by **Sōmēśvara** (v. 26). We know from other sources that the latter was the third son of Arṇōrāja from his Chaulukya queen Kāñchanadēvī, the daughter of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and thus was one of the uncles of Pṛithvīrāja. According to the *Pṛith. vij.*, he passed the prime of his youth in the court of his maternal grandfather Jayasiṁha and uncle Kumārapāla. He is also stated to have assisted the latter in his campaign against Kōṅkaṇ. Our epigraph appears to suggest the fact of passing his youth in the Chaulukya court by saying that he obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Sōmēśvara (*Sōmēśvarāl-laddha(labdha)-rājyas=*, v. 26), the famous god in Surāshṭra, who must have been a tutelary deity of the Chaulukya princes. It does not mention any historical event of his reign except that he earned through valour the *biruda* of *Pratāpalaṅkēśvara* (v. 27) and that he, with a desire to gain heaven, endowed Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Rēvā with a village named **Rēvaṇā** in *śāsana*, *i.e.*, in absolute charity (v. 28). It is worth noticing that this prince as well as his predecessor, both donated a village each, to this god. It is evident that the inscription was engraved on the rock when the erection of the temple was finished in V. S. 1226, the first year of the reign of Sōmēśvara. Thus, Pṛithvīrāja's donation must have been made when the image was already installed, and his successor Sōmēśvara made his donation when the deity was enshrined in the temple. It may also be mentioned here that this installation earned for the spot a very wide reputation and within a decade the spot became so holy to the Digambaras that a mythological treatise called the *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa* was composed and engraved on a larger rock nearby. Some scholars have called this treatise, the *Unnata-śikhara-purāṇa*[3], but it is a mistake. It remains unpublished.

The following is the **genealogy** of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty according to the present rock inscription :—

1. Chāhamāna (the progenitor).
2. Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).
3. Sāmanta.
4. Pūrṇṇatalla.
5. Jayarāja (*s.* of 3).

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 67.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202, n. 1.
[3] Ojhā, *Rāj. Itihā.*, Pano. I, p. 364 ; Erskine, *Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, p. 100.



[1] Taking the word *anujaḥ* at the end of v. 13 to refer to both 21 and 22.

From v. 29 the inscription describes the genealogy of the person who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha. This portion opens with a fresh title, viz., *Atha Kārāpaka-vaṁśa-ānukramaḥ* (l. 12), where the word *kārāpaka*, although regarded by some to be a family name[1] of the Vaiśyas like Prāgvāṭa, etc., is decidedly a grammatical formation from the root *kṛi*. It does not appear to be the proper name of his family, for he is said in v. 31 to have descended in the Prāgvāṭa-*vaṁśa*.

When the gods and the demons churned the ocean in the reign of Nārāyaṇa, at the site holy to Nēminātha (v. 29), a distinguished family, taken recourse to by the group of gods, was produced, which was located by Śatamanyu (*i.e.*, Indra) at Śrīmāla-*pattana* (v. 30). It was the **Prāgvāṭa-***vaṁśa* wherein was born one Vaiśravaṇa (v. 31). He built a temple to Jina at Taḍāga-*pattana* and also many a temple at Vyāghrēraka and other places (vv. 32-33). He begot a son named Chachchula (v. 34). His son was Śubhaṅkara; from him was born Jāsaṭa whose son was Puṇyarāśi (v. 35). The temple of Varddhamāna situated at Nārāṇaka was built by the last named (v. 36). He had two wives who gave birth to four sons. Āmvaṭa and Padmaṭa were born of one wife while Lakshmaṭa and Dēsala of the other (vv. 37-38). They seem to have constructed temples to Vira (*i.e.*, Mahāvīra), at Naravara (v. 39). Lakshmaṭa had two sons, Munichandu and Rāmēchandu by name, while Dēsala had six sons named Duddakanātha, Mōsala, Vīgaḍi, Dēvasparśa, Sīyaka and Rāhaka, in order of birth (vv. 40-42). They erected a temple to Varddhamāna at Ajayamēru (v. 43). Of them Sīyaka, an ornament to *Śrēshṭhins*, beautified the great fort of Maṇḍalakara (v. 44). He built (probably at Maṇḍalakara) a beautiful temple of Nēminātha (v. 46). He had two wives, Nāgaśrī and Māmaṭā by name, of whom the former gave birth to three sons and the latter to two (v. 47). Thus Sīyaka had five devout sons (v. 48). Nāgadēva, **Lōlāka** and Ujjvala, in order of birth, were born of the former wife, and Mahidhara and Dēvadhara of the latter (v. 49). Ujjvala had two sons, Durllabha and Lakshmaṇa by name (v. 50). Lōlaka was a special creation of god in whom were combined certain unique virtues (v. 51). He, the abode of celebrity, once came to the flourishing town of Vin[dhyava]lli and there [saw] some person standing before him [in dream] (v. 52). He asked as to who he was, what was the reason of his coming there and from where he came, to which the latter replied that he was Phaṇīśvara (the holy serpent) and said that Pārśvanātha would come over there himself from the nether world for enlightening him (v. 53). Having got up in the morning, he did not utter anything, for, the mind is not free from corruption in a state of dream (v. 54). Lōlāka had three wives, **Lalitā**, Kamalaśrī and Lakshmī by name, resembling the very goddess of fortune (v. 55). The holy serpent, then (being ignored by Lōlāka) went to his devout wife Lalitā sleeping at night and said. "O blessed one! hear me. I am Dharaṇa, the holy serpent; come, I [show you] the illustrious [Pārśvanātha]" (v. 56). She then replied that what he [said regarding the deliverance and worship of the deity by herself] was not proper (*satya*), and that it was her husband who was the right person to lift up, worship and erect a temple for the god (v. 57). The serpent again approached Lōlika and observed, "O you devout, virtuous and wealthy! Pārśva (the Tīrthaṅkara) has come over up to the bank of the river Rēvatī. Lift him up and have the virtue of erecting a *chaitya-gēha* (temple) for the Jina, whereby you will obtain all worldly prosperity" (vv. 58-59). The serpent then describes the glory of the Bhīma-*vana* where Pārśvanātha meant to manifest himself mentioning the natural rocks of stone with which the *vana* is strewn over, as the blocks hurled down from the sky by the foolish Kamaṭha to obstruct his penance (v. 60). It is in the Bhīma-*vana* that the Uttamādrisikhara is situated like an elevated stage, where lie the holy *tīrthas* and temples of Varalāika, Atimukta, Ghaṭēśvara, Kumārēśvara, Saubhāgyēśvara, Dakshiṇēśvara, Mārkkaṇḍa (Mārkaṇḍēya), Rinchchhōśvara, Ūmbarēśvara, Brāhman, Mahyēśvara, Kuṭilēśa, Karkkarēśa, Kapilēśvara, Mahānāla, Mahākāla.

[1] Vaidya, *His. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.

[Bha]-rathēśvara, Ka(Kī)rttināṭha, Kēdāra,. , Saṅgamēśa, Puṭīśa, Mukh[ē]śvara, Vaṭēśvara, Nityapramōdita, Siddhēśvara, Gayēśvara, Gaṅgābhēda, Sōmēśa, Gaṅgināṭha, Purāṇitaka, Kuṭilā, Svarṇajālēśvara and Kapiladhārā (vv. 61-66)[1]. Neither untimely death, nor disease, nor famine, nor want of rains is here visible (v. 67). The *tīrtha* of Kōṭīśvara cannot be adequately described where the manifestation of a phallus of Śiva takes place every six months (v. 68). It is here that Pārśvanātha will now reside and enlighten the living beings (v. 69). Having heard these words of the lord of serpents, as Lōlāka woke up in the morning and dug the earth himself, he at once saw the illustrious *Vihāra* in the proximity of the reservoir (v. 70). The place, where there had been no worship of Jina and other acts of piety had now become an abode of [Jaina worship] (v. 71). Due to Śīyaka coming there, Padmā, Kshētrapāla, Ambikā, Jvālinī and the serpent Dharaṇa also came out from inside the reservoir (v. 72). Owing to the advent of Pārśvanātha here, the column holy to the attendant deity Yaksha, situated on a hill (at the former residence of the god) fell in the Nāga-hrada, the pond of serpents (v. 73). The Yaksha also appeared before the chaste Lakshmaṇa in dream, saying that he would also go where his lord Pārśva was (v. 74). Vv. 75-85 describe the sanctity of the Rēvatī-*kuṇḍa* and the merits derivable from a bath therein. A poetical description of the temple as well as of the piety of Lōlāka is also given. From v. 83 we learn that Lōlāka's religious preceptor was one **Jinachandra Sūri** in accordance with whose injunctions the former brought into being this holy site. Vv. 86-87 describe the surroundings of the temple : the river Rēvatī to the east as also the *purā* (abode) of the deity ; *maṭha-sthāna* or monastery to the south ; the reservoir of water to the north ; and from north to south, an orchard adorned with multifarious plantation. All these constructions including the seven *āyatanas*, *i.e.*, temples (big and small), were caused to be made by Lōlika.

The author of the inscription was one **Guṇabhadra**, a *mahā-muni*, who belonged to the Mā[thu*]ra *Saṅgha* (v. 88). This *Saṅgha* is a sub-division of the well-known Kāshṭhā-*Saṅgha*[2].

The record was written by **Kēs(ś)ava**, the son of Chhītiṇa belonging to the Naigama lineage of the Kāyastha caste (v. 89).

The chief masons who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha were *sūtradhāra* **Harasiga (Harasiṁha)**, his son **Pālhaṇa** and grandson **Āhaḍa** (v. 90).

The record was engraved by **Gōvinda**, the son of Nāṇiga, and **Dēlhaṇa**, the son of Pālhaṇa.

(The temple to) the deity was completed on **Thursday, the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year 1226 of the Vikrama era**, when it was Hasta *nakshatra*, Dhṛiti *yōga* and Taitila *karaṇa*, corresponding to A.D. 1170, Thursday the 5th February, taking the month to be *pūryimānta* as also expired[3] (vv. 92-93).

The rest of the epigraph is in prose beginning with the date in numerals. It records various donations made to the temple by certain persons. Thus *Gukila-putra* Rāval **Dādhara** and *Mahattama* **Ghaṇasī(sīṁ)ha** donated one *kshētra-ḍāhalī*[4] lying midway between the villages of Kāṇivā and Rēvaṇā. Gauḍa **Sōniga** and **Vāsudēva**, residents of the village Khaḍuṇivarā gave one *ḍāhalikā*. *Mahattama* **Līṁvaḍi** and **Pōpali** of the village Rāyatā in the Āṇtarī sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) gave one *kshētra-ḍāhalikā*. *Pārigrahī* **Ālhaṇa**, residing in the village of Vaḍanvā, donated one *kshētra-ḍāhalikā*. *Gukila-putra* Rāval **Vyāharū** and *Mahattama* **Māhava**, associated with the village of Laghu-Vījhōlī, gave one *kshētra-ḍāhalikā*.

[1] I have noticed below that some of these gods and sites can be identified.

[2] This I came to know from a learned Digambara Jain ascetic, **Mahāvīrakīrti** by name.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 133, n. 21.

[4] *Ḍāhalī* or *ḍāhalikā* is a local term applied to a piece of land of any size given for charitable purpose, free of rent.

An attempt may now be made towards identification of some of the **geographical places** mentioned in the latter part of the inscription. **Śrīmāla**-*puttana* (v. 30) is the well-known Bhinmāl, the capital city of the ancient province of Gurjaratrā, situated about 50 miles west of Mt. Abu.[1] **Taḍāga**-*puttana* (v. 32) I am unable to identify. **Vyāghrēraka** (v. 33) is the same as Vayvē-(ghē)ra where Vigrahārāja is represented to be, in the fourth Act of the *Lalita-Vigrahurāja-nāṭaka*[2]. It is to be identified with modern Bāghēra[3] about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmer. **Nārāṇaka** (v. 36) may be identified with Narain in the Sāmbhar *nizāmat* in the State of Jaipur, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 41 miles west of Jaipur city and 43 miles north-east of Ajmer[4]. **Naravara** (v. 39) is the ancient Narapura situated in the Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer[5]. **Ajayamēru** (v. 43) is evidently the modern Ajmer founded by the Chāhamāna prince Ajayadēva or Ajayarāja between A.D. 1100 and 1125[6]. **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 44) is the modern Māṇḍalgarh in the State of Udaipur.

Vindhyavallī (v. 52) is the ancient Sanskrit name of Vijholī or Bijholī. It is also popularly known as Bijoliā or Bijoliyā which is derivable from the Skt. form Vindhyavallikā.

Bhīma-*vana* (v. 60) seems to be the ancient name of the extensive forest round about the range of hills containing the great table-land called the Pathār. **Uttamādriśikhara** (v. 61) appears to be the ancient name of the uppermost table-land popularly called the Uparamāla, extending from Bārolli and Bhainsarar in the south to Jahāzpur in the north. The *tirtha* of **Varalāika** is a tank near Bijholī whose embankment is strewn over with ancient temples now in ruins. **Mahānāla** (v. 63) refers itself to Menāl vividly described by Tod[7]. The temple of **Mahākāla** (v. 63), is situated well preserved outside Bijholī itself as also that of **Svarṇapajālēśvara** (v. 66), now called Hazārēśvara[8]. **Kapiladhārā** (v. 66) appears to be another name of Mandākinī, the holy reservoir existing at Bijholī near the Mahākāla temple. **Gaṅgābhēda** (v. 65) is evidently the Gaṅgābhēva at Bārolli mentioned by Tod.[9] The god **Nityapramōdita** (v. 65) obviously belongs to Dhōḍ in the Jahāzpur District of Mewār, where an inscription dated in V. S. 1225 has been found recording the erection of the temple by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Pṛithvīdēva, the Chāhamāna lord of Śākambharī.[10]

Rēvatī (v. 86) is a small river flowing by the side of the Pārśvanātha temple from which the Rēvatī-*kuṇḍa* reservoir (v. 75), in front of the temple, has derived its name.

Kāṁvā (l. 29) is the modern Kāmā about two miles east of Bijholī. **Rōvaṇā** (l. 29) seems to be the ancient name of modern Randhōlapurā about four miles north-east of Bijholī. This is the same village which was donated to Pārśvanātha by prince Sōmēśvara. **Khaduṁvarā** (l. 29) appears to be the modern Khaḍīpura about 6 miles south-east of Bijholī. **Rāyatā** (l. 29) is the village of the same name in the estate of Begūn, about 11 miles south-east of Bijholī. The **Aṁtarī** sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) as mentioned here is quite identical with Uparamvāla Antarī of which

[1] Dey, *Geogr. Dic.*, p. 192.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202 and *ibid.*, n. 1.
[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.
[4] *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new edition), p. 370.
[5] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 2.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 163.
[7] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1800-05 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[8] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 243-49.
[9] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1766-68 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[10] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

the feudatory Kumārapāla is stated in the inscription of V. S. 1225 referred to above, to be the chief[1]. It is even now the name of the tract which comprises the estate of Begūn, Singoli, Kadvāsa, Ratangarh Khedī, etc. **Vaḍnuvā** (l. 29) is the modern Baḍauvā about 3 miles south of Bijholi. Laghu **Vijhōlī** (l. 29) is called Chhōṭī Bijoliā at present, and is about 3 miles west of Bijholi.

Lastly it may be mentioned that this site is regarded by the Digambara Jains to be holy exclusively to their religion, but v. 71 of the present epigraph clearly indicates that it had become as such only after the manifestation of Pārśvanātha taking place in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. That the whole table-land had been a Brahmanic tīrtha centuries before this period, and is even now no less so, hardly needs any mention.

TEXT.[2]

1 सिद्धम्[3] ॥ ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ चिद्रूपं सहजोदितं निरवधिं[4] ज्ञानैकनिष्ठा-
प्तिं[5] । नित्योन्मीलितमुक्तसत्परकलं स्वात्कारविस्फारितं(तम्) [।*] सुव्यक्तं पर-
माद्भुतं शिवसुखानंदास्पदं शास्व(श्व)तं । नौमि स्तौमि जपामि यामि शरणं
तज्ज्योतिरात्मो[त्थि]तं(तम्) ॥१॥[6] नास्तं गतः कुग्रहसंग्रहो न । नो तीव्र-
तेजा

2 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — [व]: । — — ⏑ — नैव सुदुष्टदैत्योऽपूर्वो रवि स्ताक्ष
सुदेहयो[7] वः ॥२॥[8] [स*] भूयाच्छ्रीशांतिः शुभविभवभंगीभवभृतां । विभोर्य-
स्याभाति स्फुरितनखरोचिः करयुगं(गम्) । विनम्राणामेषामखिलकृतिनां मंगल-
मयीं । स्थिरोकर्तुं लक्ष्मीमुपरचितरज्जुव्रजमिव ॥३॥[9] नाशा(सा)स्त्रा(श्रा)सेन
येन प्रबलबलभृता पूरितः पांचजन्यः ।[10]

3 — — — — ⏑ — — वरदलमलि[नी][11] पाद]पद्माग्रदेशैः । हस्तांगुष्ठेन शांत्यां-
(शाङ्गैं) घ(ध)नुरतुलव(ब)लं कृष्टमारोप्य विद्धो । रंगुच्चांदोलितोर्यं हल[12]भृदव-
नतिं तस्य नेमेस्तनोमि ॥४॥[13] प्रांशुप्राकारकांता[14] चिदमयपरिहृढव्यूह[रु]द्धावकाशां ।[15]

[1] Ray, *Dy. Hist.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

[2] Transcribed from the original rock at Bijholi.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

[4] Read *niravadhi*.

[5] This *danda* is superfluous.

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] The word *Vṛisha* indicates the name of the first Tirthaṅkara Rishabhadēva, who (by breaking the euphonic combination) is to be regarded as *avṛisha*, i.e., not having to ascend the second sign of the zodiac, in contrast to the Sun.

[8] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[9] Metre: *Sikhariṇī*.

[10] The word *ghaṇī* means 'a swarm of bees'. It may also mean 'female Jaina devotees'. But it here means something else which was vanquished by the toes of his feet.

[11] There is an *anusvāra* over *bhri*, which is redundant.

[12] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[13] Read *'prākāra-kāntā*.

वाचालां केतुकोटि[क्क]णदनणमणीकिंकिणीभिः समंतात् । यस्य व्याख्यानभूमौ-
मनुह किमिदमित्याकुलाः कौतुकेन प्रेक्षंते प्राणभाजः

4 [म भु*][वि] विजयतां तीर्थकृत्पार्श्व(र्श्व)नाथः[1] ॥५॥[2] वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य वर्द्धमान-
मनोदयः । वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य[3] वर्द्धमान[मह]नोदयः ॥६॥[4] सारदां सारदां
स्तौमि सा[5]रदानविसारदां(दाम्) । भारतीं भारतीं भक्तभुक्तिमुक्तिविशारदां(दाम्)[6]
॥७॥[7] निःप्रत्यूह[8]मुपास्महे जिनपतीनन्यानपि स्वामिनः ।[9] श्रीनाभेयपुरस्सरान् पर-
क्षपापीयूषपाथोनिधीन् । ये ध्यो(ध्यो)तिःपरभागभाज-

5 नतया मुक्तात्मतामा[श्रि]ताः श्रीमद्भुक्तिनितंवि(बि)नीस्तनतटे हारश्रियं वि(बि)भ्रति
॥८॥[10] भव्यानां हृदयाभिरामवसतिः सद्धर्म[म][र्म्म*]स्थितिः कर्म्मोन्मूलनसंगतिः
सु(शु)भगतिः[12] निर्व्वा(र्व्वा)णवो(बो)धोद्गतिः [।*] जीवानामुपकारकारणरतिः श्रेयः-
श्रियां संस्थितिः [13]देयान्मे भवसंस्थितिः शिव[म]तिं जैनैं[14] चतुर्विंस(श)तिः
॥९॥[11] श्रीचाहमानक्षितिराजवंशः पौर्व्वापर्य्यपूर्व्वो नि(न) जडाधनदः । भिन्नो
न[15] चां-

6 [गो*] [न च] रंध्रयुक्तो नो निःफलः[16] सायुतो नतो नो ॥१०॥[17] लावण्यनिर्म्मी-
लनमहोज्व(ज्ज्व)लितांगयष्टिरच्छोच्छलच्छुचिपयःपरिधानधा[त्री][। उत्तुं*]गपर्व्वत-
पयोधरभारभुग्ना [18]शाकंभ[रा]जनि जनैव ततोपि विष्णोः ॥११॥[19] विप्रः श्री-
वत्सगोत्रेभूदहिच्छ[च्छ*]पुरे पुरा । सामंतोनंतसामंतः पूर्णतल्ल(ल्लो) नृपस्ततः ॥१२॥[4]
तस्माच्छ्रीजयराजविग्रहनृपो श्रीचंद्रगोपेंद्रको तस्माद्[र्द्र]भगूवको शशि-

[1] The word *Tirthakrit* is used as a variant for Tirthankara.

[2] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[3] Of Vardhamāna, *i.e.*, Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth apostle.

[4] Of the town of Vardhamāna with which is associated the birth of Mahāvīra.

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] There is an *anusvāra* over *ri*, which is superfluous.

[7] The verse apparently aims at adoring the goddess of eloquence under two of her names, viz., Śāradā and Bhāratī. The author appears to adore her as the latter in the form of the *vṛitti* called Bhāratī defined as 'भारती संस्कृतप्रायो वाक्व्यापारो नटादयः ।' (*Sāhitya-darpana*, ch. VI, v. 29).

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] Read *Niṣkrotpāṭhaṁs=*.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] Read *-bhair=ni°*.

[13] Read *saṁsṛitir=iṣṭāṁs=*.

[14] Read *Jaine*.

[15] This *na* is to be construed with both *bhinnō* and *=mān[gō*]* according to the *kāk-ākshi-gōlaka* maxim.

[16] Read *niṣphalaḥ*.

[17] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[18] Strictly speaking, the form should have been *Śākaṁbharī*, but the addition of *ṅīp* for the feminine form here suggests that the author has regarded the word *Śākaṁbhara* as belonging to *ajādi-gaṇa*.

[19] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

7 नृपो गूवाक[1]सचंदनो [।*] श्रीमद्दप्पयराजविंध्यनृपती श्रीसिंहराज्ञि(ड्डि)यक्ष्मी ।[2]
श्रीमद्दुर्लभगुंदुवाक्पतिनृपाः श्रीवीर्यरामोऽनुजः ॥१३॥[3] [चामुंड]ोऽवनिपे(पो)ऽति(ग)
ख[4] रागकवरः श्रीसिंघटो दूसनस्तद्भ्रातात्थ ततोपि वीसलनृपः श्रीराजदेवोप्रियः
[।*] पृथ्वीराजनृपोथ तत्तनुभू(भ)वो रासल्लदेवीविभुस्तत्सूनोजयदेव इत्यवनिपः
सोमल्लदेवीपतिः ॥१४॥[5] हत्वा[6] चाहिगसिंधलाभिधयसो(शो)राजादिवीरत्रयं ।[7]

8 चित्रं क्रूरकृतांतवक्त्रकुहरे श्रीमार्ग्गदुर्द्दा(र्दा)न्वितं(तम्) । श्रीमत्सो[ल्ल]णदंडनायकवरः
संग्रामरंगांगणे जीवंने(वन्ने)व नियंचित: करभके येन ∪ — — [चि]त्रात् ॥१५॥[8] ऋणोराजोस्य सूनुर्दृतहृदयहरिः सत्ववांग्नि(वाग्नि)ष्टसोमो गांभीर्यादार्यव-
(व)र्यः समभवद्[चि]रालब्ध(ब्ध)मध्यो न दीनः । तच्चित्रं जंन(यन्न) जाद्य(द्य)-
स्थितिरहृतमहार्घंकहेतुर्न मध्या न श्रीमुक्तो न दोषाकररचितरतिर्न द्विजिह्वाधि-
मेव्यः ॥१६॥[9] यद्राज्यं

9 यद्राज्यं[10] कुशवारणं प्रतिकृतं राजांकुशेन स्वयं ।[11] येनाचैव नु[12] चित्रमेतत्पुन[13]र्मन्या-
महे तं प्रति । तच्चित्रं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्व्याजनारायणन्यक्काराचरणेन
भंगकरणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति[14] ॥१७॥[15] कुवलयविकासकर्त्तो विग्रहराजोजनि(नो)-
[स्तु(ति)] नो चित्रं(त्रम्) । तत्तनयस्तच्चित्रं य[त्र] जडशीषमकलंकः ॥१८॥[16]
भादानत्वं[17] चक्रे भादानपतेः[18] परस्य भादानः[19] [।*] यस्य दधत्करवाल:
करालतां

[1] The syllable *ka*, having been first left by mistake, was later on engraved above the line.

[2] This *dvada* is superfluous. [3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[4] This is a superfluous syllable.

[5] There is a superfluous *virāma* stroke below *tta*.

[6] Better read *hatvā* or *kshipta*.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Metre: *Svāgatā*.

[9] These three syllables are repeated by mistake.

[10] This *dvaṇa* is superfluous.

[11] The medial *u* sign here resembles the *virāma* stroke.

[12] Read '*nu:dad-apasar-*', taking *apasar* as meaning *ne pasar*.

[13] This is one of the ambiguous verses in the record. It may be noted that what is mentioned in its first half as not appearing strange is to be construed both with the prince and with the ocean (*arṇōrāja*); and what is mentioned in the second half, is to be taken as strange with reference to the ocean only. It would thus mean :— 'that the ocean whose director is the moon (*rāj-śaṅkṣēṇa*), handed over (*pratikṛitaṁ*) the mad elephant (*kuśa-rūpaṇaṁ*), *i.e.*, Aśāvata, to Indra (*Dēvarāja* of the second half); and that the prince who was a goad to kings (*rāj-śaṅkṣēṇa*), revenged (*pratikṛitaṁ*), the kingdom of Kuśa and Vāraṇa (*Kuśa-Vāraṇaṁ*), is not to be wondered at. But that he (the prince), having insulted Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, brought about the ruin of Dēvarāja (meaning goal of gods, *i.e.*, the same Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, the Paramāra prince Naravarman), is really strange with reference to the ocean which neither insulted Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) nor ruined Dēvarāja (Indra).'

[14] Metre: *Āryā*.

[15] Means 'the act of absorbing lustre,' with reference to *paraṇa*.

[16] This word is adjectival to *yasya* in the third quarter. It means 'of him who was *bhū-patiḥ* (the most illustrious) and *ādāna-patiḥ* (all acquiring).

[17] Means 'emitting forth lustre'. It qualifies *karavālaḥ*.

10 करतलाकलितः ॥१८॥[1] कृतांतपथसञ्चोभूत्सञ्जनोमज्जनो भुवः । वैकुंतं[2] कुंतपाणो-
गा[द्यत]ो वै कुं[त]पालकः ॥२०॥[3] जावालिपुरं ज्वाला[पु]रं कृता पालिकापि
पल्लीव । नद्द(ड्ड)लतुल्यं रोषाद्रदू(द्दू)लं येन सौ(शौ)र्येण ॥२१॥[4] प्रतोल्यां
च वलभ्यां च येन विचामितं यशः । ढिल्लिकाग्रहणव्यांतमाग्निकालाभलं-
भितं(तम्) ॥२२॥[5] तच्चेष्ठभ्रात्रपुत्रोऽभूत्पृथ्वीराजः पृथूपमः । तस्मादज्जितहेमांगो[6]
हेमपर्व्वतदानतः ॥२३॥[7] अतिधर्म्मरतेना-

11 पि पार्श्वनाथस्वयंभुवे । दत्त[8] मोराक्षरीद्वारं[9] भुक्तिमुक्तिव[10] हेतुना ॥२४॥[11] स्वर्णादि-
दाननिवहैर्हेमगिरिर्म्महद्भिस्तोलानरैर्व[12]गरदानचयैव विप्राः । येनाचिताद्यतुरभूपति-
वस्तपालमाक्रम्य चारुमनसिद्विकरो ग्रहीतः ॥२५॥[13] सोमेश्वराज्ञाध्व(ध्य)राज्यस्तः
सोमेश्व(श्व)रो नृपः [।*] सोमेश्व(श्व)र[14]नतो यस्माज्जनः सोमेश्व(श्व)रो[15]भवत्
॥२६॥[16] प्रतापलंकेश्व(श्व)र इत्यभिख्यां यः प्राप्तवान् प्रौढपृथुप्रतापः [।*]
यस्याभिमुख्ये वरवैरिमुख्याः केचिन्मृता[17] केचिदभिद्रुताश्च ।।२७॥[18] येन यो-

12 पार्श्वनाथाय रेवातीरे स्वयंभुवे । सा(शा)सने[19] रेवणाद्वारं[20] दत्त[21] स्वर्गाय कांक्षया
॥२८॥[22] छ ॥ अथ कारापक[23]वंशानुक्रमः ॥ तीर्थे श्रीनेमिनाथस्य राज्ये नारा-
यणस्य च । अंभोधिमथनादेवव(ब)लिभिर्व्व(र्व्वे)[24]लग्नालिभिः ॥२९॥[25] निर्म्मितः
प्रवरो वंशो हें(हे)वहंदैः समाश्रितः । श्रीमालपत्तने स्थाने स्थापितः शतम-
न्युना ॥३०॥[26] श्रीमालशैलप्रवरावचूलः प(पृ)थ्वोत्तरः सत्वगुरुः सुहृत(त्त)ः ।
प्राग्वाटवंशोऽस्ति व(ब)भूव तस्मिन्मुक्तोपमो वैश्यवणाभिधानः[27] ॥३१॥[28] तडागपत्तने
येन कारितं

[1] Metre: *Āryā*.

[2] Read *vaikuṇṭhyaṁ*, 'the state of lancelessness'. [3] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

[4] *Hāṭakāṅga* here means the mountain Sumēru. That he (the prince) gave in charity gold in heaps shows that he had earned the said golden mountain itself.

[5] Read *dattō*. [6] Read *-grāmō*.

[7] Read *-muktyōr=eka*. [8] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

[9] *Tōlānaraiḥ=*, *i.e.*, 'in men's weight'. *Tōlē ā samantāt naraḥ yēṣhāṁ, taiḥ*. [Possibly the reading is '*su-tōlāḥkaraiḥ=* meaning *tulāhāraiḥ=*.—Ed.]

[10] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[11] *Umayā sahitaḥ sō=mahaḥ, śvaraśchāsau ya Īśvaraḥ Śivaḥ, tasmai nataḥ*.

[12] *Saḥ Um-Īśvaraḥ Umāyāḥ īśvaraḥ patiḥ arthāt Śivaḥ abhavat*.

[13] Read *=mṛtāḥ*. [14] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[15] *Śāsana*, with reference to land-grants, means in local circles 'absolute charity.'

[16] Read *dattaḥ*.

[17] *Kārāpaka* does not seem to be the proper name of any Vaiśya family as some scholars have thought (C. V. Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391). It is a wrong form from the root *kṛi* in a double causative sense which is found also in other inscriptions. It refers to him who caused the erection of the Pārśvanātha temple.

[18] The word *Va(Ba)libhiḥ* conveys the idea of the whole demon class according to the maxim '*prāyēṇa nyūnādhikā bhavanti*,' for, Bali was the chief of that class.

[19] If we take *vai* as a particle of affirmation, the name of this person would be Śravaṇa.

[20] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

13 जिनमंदिरं(रम्) । [तीर्त्वा] भ्रांत्वा यस(श)स्त्वमेकत्र स्थिरतां गतां(तम्) ॥३२॥[1] योऽचोकरच्चंद्रस(श)रि(चि)प्रभाणि व्याघ्रेरकादौ जिनमंदिराणि । कीर्त्तिद्रुमारा-ममसूत्रिहैतोर्विभाति कंदा इव यान्यमंदाः[2] ॥३३॥[3] कल्लोलमांसलितकीर्त्तिसुधा-(धा)समुद्रः ।[4] सद्(द्व)डिवं(वं)धुरवधूध्(ध)रणे ध[रौ(रे)श्वः[5] ।] [भू*][त]ो-पकारकरणप्रगुणांतरात्मा श्रीचचुलस्वतनयः [⏑ ⏑ —][6] पदेऽभूत् ॥३४॥[7] शुभंकरस्यास्य सुतोऽनिष्ट शिष्टैर्महिष्ठैः परिकीर्त्यकीर्त्तिः ॥(।) श्रीजामटोसूत[8] तदंगजन्मा यदंगजन्मा खलु पुण्यराशि(शि)॥[9]: ॥३५॥[10] मंदिरं यद्वं-

14 मानस्य श्रीनारायणकर्मस्थितं(तम्) । भाति यत्कारितं स्वीयपुण्यस्कंधमिवोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं-(लम्) ॥३६॥[11] चत्वारश्चतुराचाराः पुत्राः पात्रं शुभश्रियः । अमुष्यामुष्यधर्म्माणो र्व्व(व)भूवुर्भाज्जं(ज्यं)योर्ध्वयोः ॥३७॥[12] एकस्यां द्वावजायेतां श्रीमदाम्बटपद्मटौ । अपरस्यां [सू][तौ जातौ*] [श्रीमल्ल]च्चटदेसलौ ॥३८॥[13] पाकाणां[14] नरवरि[15] वीर-वेश्मकारणपाटवं(वम्) । प्रकटितं[16] स्वीयवित्तेन घा(धा)तु(तु)नेव मल्हीतलं(लम्) ॥३९॥[17] पुत्रौ पवित्रौ गुणरत्नपात्रौ विश्वहगात्रौ सममौ(मौ)त्तमर्त्त्यौ(त्यौ) [।*] व(ब)भूवतुस्तच्चटकस्य जैत्रौ मुनींदुरामेंद्रभिधौ(धौ) प्रस(श)स्तौ(स्तौ) ॥४०॥[18]

15 [19]षट्टं(ट्खं)डागमबद्धसौहृदभराः[20] षड्जीवरक्षेश्वराः[21] षट्भे(ड्भे)दैंद्रियवस्य(श्य)तापरिकराः[22] षड्मौक्ष(क्ल)मादराः[23] [।*] षट्खं(ट्खं)डावनिकीर्त्तिपालनपराः[24] ष(षा)ट्गु(ड्गु)-

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[2] The simile here is rhetorically a bit faulty inasmuch as the subject of comparison is in the neuter gender, while the standard of comparison is in the masculine.

[3] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[4] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] *Dhar-ṇīśaḥ* should be expounded as *Dharaṇi-chakāra Viṣṇu-cha* meaning 'lord Vishṇu in his *Kūrma* incarnation when he upheld the earth.'

[6] Syllables within these brackets are wanting in the text. They have neither been engraved, nor due space has been left for them.

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] The transitive verb *sū* 'to beget or produce' is here used intransitively.

[9] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[10] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[11] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[12] Read *Prakīrṇau* as adverbial to the verb in the third quarter and also as predicate to the subject of the fourth quarter. [Reading of these three syllables is uncertain.—Ed.]

[13] Better read *Nṛicarā* to suit the metre.

[14] Better change this verb to *prathitaṃ* for the sake of the metre.

[15] The religious and the philosophical principles finding mention in this as well as in verse 48, decidedly belong to the Digambara Jaina school of thought.

[16] षट्खंडागम appears to refer to the *āgamas* or religious literature pertaining to the six divisions of the cosmos, called *dravyas* which are जीव, धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश, काल and पुद्गल.

[17] षड्जीवs are पृथ्वी, अप्, तेजस, वायु, वनस्पति and त्रस of which the former five are regarded as स्थावर being possessed of one इन्द्रिय only, while the last is the name given to जीवs possessed of more than one इन्द्रिय.

[18] There are only five इन्द्रियs, सं०, 'स्पर्शनरसनघ्राणचक्षुःश्रोत्राणि' (Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. II, *sū*. 19); but मनस् which is regarded as an ईषदिन्द्रिय seems to have also been included here.

[19] षट्कर्मs of a श्रावक are enumerated in the following couplet of the *Umāsvāmiśrāvakāchāra*:—

देवपूजा गुरूपास्तिः स्वाध्यायः संयमस्तपः ।
दानं चेति गृहस्थानां षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥

[20] According to the Digambara Jaina doctrine, there are six खंडs of the earth, of which one is the आर्यखंड between the Ganges and the Indus, and the rest are म्लेच्छखंडs outside this region.

ख्यचिंताकराः[1] षट्(ड्ढ)र्श्व(व्व)जभास्करा[:*][2] समभवः[3] षट्टे(ड्टे)ग्रलस्यांगजाः ॥४१॥[4] श्रेष्टी(ष्ठी) दृढकनायकः प्रथमकः श्रीमोसलो वीगडिर्देवस्यर्ग इतोपि सीयकवरः श्रीराहको नामतः । एते तु क्रमतो जिनक्रमयुगांभोजैकभृंगोपमा मान्या राजगतैर्व्वदान्यमतयोः[5] राजंति ज्ञंवु(व्व)त्सवाः[7] ॥४२॥[4] तस्यं श्रीवर्द्धमान-स्याजयमेरोर्व्विभूषणं(णम्) [।*] कारितं यैर्म्महाभागैर्व्वि-

16 मानमिव नाकिनां(नाम्) ॥४३॥[8] तेषामंतः श्रियः पात्रं [सीय]कः श्रेष्टि(ष्ठि)भूषणं-(णम्) । मंडलकरमक्षादुर्म्मं भूपयामास भूतिना[9] ॥४४॥[5] यो न्यायांकुरसेचनैक-जलदः कीर्त्ति(र्त्ति)र्व्विधानं परं ।[10] सौजन्यांवु(व्व)निनोविकासनरविः पापाद्रि-भेदे पविः [।*] कारुण्यामृतवारिधेर्व्विलसने राकाश[सं(शां)को[प]मो नित्यं साधुजनोपकारकरणव्यापारव(ब)द्धादरः ॥४५॥[4] येनाकारि जितारिनेमिभवनं देव-द्रिश्रृंगोदरं चंचत्कांचनचारुदंडकलसश्रेणिप्रभाभास्वरं(रम्) । खेलत्खेचरसुंदरीश्रमभरं भंजद्भुजोद्दोजनैर्देत्तेष्टापदशैलमृं(शृं)गजिनभृत्प्रोद्दामसद्मश्रियं(यम्) ॥४६॥[4] श्रीसीयकस्य भार्यां[11] हे

17 सौ[11] नागश्रीमामटाभिधे(धे) । आद्यायास्तु स्त्र(च)यः पुत्रा द्वितीयायाः सुतद्वयं(यम्) ॥४७॥[8] पंचाचारपरायणात्ममतयः[12] ।[10] पंचांगमंत्रोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लाः[13] ।[10] पंचज्ञानविचारणा-सुचतुराः[14] ।[10] पंचेंद्रियार्थोज्झिताः[15] । श्रीमत्पंचगुरुप्रणाममनसः[16] पंचाणुव्रतव्रता.[17] पंचेते

[1] I do not know the exact conception of षाड्गुण्य. It is, perhaps identical with the sixfold political expedients, viz., संधि, विग्रह, यान, आसन, द्वैधीभाव and आश्रय.

[2] षड्दृष्टि here seems to have been used for षड्दर्शन, viz., लोकायतिक, सौगत, सांख्य, योग, प्राभाकर and जैमिनीय.

[3] Read *samabhavan*.

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] *Kṛama* here means 'foot'.

[6] Read *-matayō*.

[7] Meaning 'joy of Jambū(-dvīpa)'.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] The correct form of this word in the sense of 'splendour' should be *bhūtyā*.

[10] This *danda* is superfluous.

[11] This syllable seems to be superfluous.

[12] The five आचार° are दर्शनाचार, ज्ञानाचार, वीर्याचार, चारित्राचार and तपआचार as given in the following पंक्ति :—

दंसणणाणपहावे वीरियचारित्तवरतवायारे ।
अप्पं परं च जुंजइ सो आयरिओ मुणी णेओ ॥

(Nēmichandra's *Dravya-saṅgraha*, ch. III, gā. 52).

[13] पंचांगमंत्र appears to refer to *mantras* classified under five heads, viz., आह्वान, स्थापन, संनिधिकरण, पूजन and विसर्जन, for the worship of the god.

[14] पंचज्ञान° are embodied in the *sūtra* 'मतिश्रुतावधिमनःपर्ययकेवलानि ज्ञानम् ।' (Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. I, *sū.* 9).

[15] The five इन्द्रियार्थ° are embodied in the *sūtra* 'स्पर्शरसगंधवर्णशब्दास्तदर्थाः ।' (Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. II, *sū.* 20).

[16] The five गुरु° or पंचपरमेष्ठि, सिद्ध, आचार्य, उपाध्याय and सर्वसाधु as embodied in the well-known sacred Jaina *mantra*,

णमो अरहंताणं णमो सिद्धाणं णमो आइरियाणं ।
णमो उवज्झायाणं णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ॥

[17] These five अणु° are embodied in the following *sūtra* :—

'हिंसानृतस्तेयाब्रह्मपरिग्रहेभ्यो विरतिर्व्रतम् ।'

(Umāsvāmi's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. VII, *sū.* 1).

तनया रुद्र[ेतवि]नयाः श्रीसोयकश्रेष्ठिनः ॥४८॥[1] आद्य[ः*] श्रीनागदेवोऽभूल्लो-
लाकश्रोज्व(ज्ज्व)लस्तथा । महीधरो देवधरो द्वावेतावन्यमाद्यजौ ॥४९॥[2] उज्ज्व-
(ज्ज्व)लस्यांगजन्मानो श्रीम[द्दु]र्लभलक्ष्मणौ । अभूतां भुवनोद्दामियसो(शो)दुर्लभ-
लक्ष्मणौ ॥५०॥[2] गांभीर्य जलधेः स्थिरत्वमचलात्तेज-

18 स्विता(तां) भास्वतः ।[3] सौम्यं चंद्रमसः सु(शु)चित्वममरश्रो(स्रो)तस्विनीतः परं(रम्)
[।*] एकैकं परिगृह्य विस्र(स्व)विदि[तो] यो वेधसा सादरं मन्ये वो(शो)ज-
क्रते कृतः[4] सुकृतिना सः[5] लोलकश्रेष्टि(ष्ठि)नः ॥५१॥[1] अथागमच्च[दिरमे]ष
कोर्त्तेः श्रीविं[ध्यव]ल्लीं धनधान्यव(व)ल्लीं(ल्लीम्) । तचालु[लोचे क्षभि*][तस्प-
सुप्तः] कंचिच्चरेसं(सं) पुरतः स्थितं सः ॥५२॥[6] उवाच कस्त्वं किमिहाभ्युपेतः
कुतः स तं प्राह फणीस्र(स्व)रोहं(हम्) । पातालमूलात्तव देशनाय [श्री*]-
पार्श्वनाथः स्वयमेष्यतीह ॥५३॥[6] प्रातस्तेन समुत्थाय न कं(किं)चन विवेचितं-
(तम्) । स्वप्नस्यांतर्मनोभावा यतो वातादिदूषिताः ॥५४॥[2] लोला-

19 क[स्य] प्रियास्त्रियो(स्त्री) व(व)भूवुर्मनसः प्रियाः ॥(।) ललिता कमलश्रीश्च लक्ष्मी-
क्षीक्षीसनाभयः ॥५५॥[2] ततः स भक्त्या ललितां व(व)भाषे गत्वा प्रियां तस्य
निसि(शि) प्रसुप्ता(प्तां) [।*] शृणुष्व भद्रे धरणीहमेहि श्री[पार्श्वनाथं*] [खलु
द]र्शयामि ॥५६॥[6] तया स चोक्तो [म] ⌣ — ⌣ — — — — ⌣ य-
[त्व(त्त्वं) व(न) हि] सत्यमेतत्[7] । श्रीपार्श्वनाथस्य समुद्धृतिं स प्रासादमर्चां
च करिष्यतीह ॥५७॥[6] गत्वा पुनर्लोलिकमेवमूचे भो भक्तयक्तानुगतातिरक्त ।[8]
देवे धने धर्म्मविधौ जिनेष्टौ श्रीरेवतीतीरमिहाप पार्श्वः ॥५८॥[10] समुद्धरैनं
कुर(रु) धर्म्मकार्यं त्वं कारय श्रीजिनचै-

20 त्यगेहं । येनाप्नुयासि श्रीकुलकीर्त्तिपद्मोरुसंतानसुखादिहार्हं(र्हि)म्) ॥५९॥[6] त[दे]-
[तद्धी*]माख्यं व(व)नमिह निवासी जिनपतेस्त एते श्रावकाः(काः) शठकमठ[11]मुक्ता
गगनतः । सधा(दा)रा[मः] [शस्त्रक्र*]दुपचयतः कुंडगरित(तो)स्तदचैतत् स्थानं
⌣ ⌣ ⌣ [नि]गमं प्राप परमं(मम्) ॥६०॥[12] अचास्युत्तममुत्तमादि(द्रि)सिप(शिख)रं

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. [2] Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] Something like *sutaṅgrahaḥ* has to be understood here as object to *kritaḥ*. [The correct reading is *Lōlluḷuḥ śrēshṭi[shṭhi]naḥ* in which case *Lōlluḷaḥ* is the object of *kritaḥ*.—Ed.]

[5] *Tasya* is here ungrammatical. It seems to have been retained for the sake of the metre. Better read *sukṛitin-ānu*.

[6] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[7] *Satyam* here seems to have been used in the sense of *sakāśam*, 'right or proper'.

[8] The virāma sign here resembles that of medial ū.

[9] This mark of punctuation is joined to the top line of the previous syllable.

[10] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[11] Kamaṭha, also called Kamaṭha-puruṣha, is a mythological figure in Jaina religion who had disturbed the penance of Pārśvanātha by hurling down blocks of stone from the sky.

[12] Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

सार्द्ध(धि)शमंचोच्छ्रितं ।[1] तीर्थं त्रोवरनाडकाच परमं देवोतिमुक्ताभिधः । सत्य-
त्राच घटेस्व(श्व)रः सुरनतो देवः कुमारेस्व(श्व)रः सौभाग्येस्व(श्व)रदक्षिणेस्व(श्व)-
रसुरौ मार्कंडरिच्छेस्व(श्व)रौ ॥६१॥[2] सत्यांवरेस्व(श्व)रो देवो ब्रह्मसङ्गेस्व(श्व)रा-
वपि । कुटि-

21 लेशः कर्कंरिशो यचास्ति कपिलेस्व(श्व)रः ॥६२॥[3] महानालमहाका[लभ]रथेस्व(श्व)रमं-
त्रकाः । त्रीचिपुष्करतां प्राप्ता[ः संति] त्रिभुवनार्चिताः ॥६३॥[3] क(की)र्त्तिना-
थं(थ)च(श्व) [के][दारः*] मिस्वामिनः [।*] संगमीस:(मेशः)
पुटीस(श)च मुखेस्व(श्व)र[वटे]स्व(श्व)राः ।[।६४॥*][3] नित्यप्रमोदितो देवो सिद्धे-
स्व(श्व)रगया[4](यै)वु(श्व)राः [।*] गंगासिद[च*] सोमी(मे)शः[5] गङ्ग(ङ्गा)नाथचि[6]पुरांतकाः
॥६४(६५)॥[3] संस्त्राचो[7] कोटिलिंगानां यचास्ति कुटिला ना(न)दी । स्वर्णजा-
लेस्व(श्व)रो देवः समं कपिलधारया:[8] ॥६५(६६)॥[3] नाल्पमृत्युर्न वा रोगा न
दु[9]र्भिक्षमवर्षणं(णम्) । यत्र देवप्रभावेन[10] कलि-

22 र्पंकप्रघर्षणं(णम्) ॥६६(६७)॥[3] पक्षासि जायते यत्र शिवलिंगं स्वयंभुवं(वम्) ।
तत्र कोटीस्व(श्व)रे तीर्थे का श्लाघा क्रियते मया ॥६७(६८)॥[3] इत्येवं ज
⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —, — — — ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —: कृत्वावतारक्रियां(याम्) । कर्त्ता पार्श्वजिनेस्व(श्व)रोत्र
कृपया सोथाद्य वामः पतिः[11] श्रुत्वैवं(र्वं)क्रियिक[:*] स्त्रियस्त्रिभुवनप्राणिप्रबोधं
प्रभुः ॥६८(६९)॥[2] इत्याकर्ण्य वचो विभाव्य मनसा तस्योरगस्वामिनः स प्रातः
प्रतिबु(बु)ध्य पार्श्व(र्श्व)मभितः त्रोर्वीं विदार्य त्वरात् । तावत्तत्र विभुं ददर्श
सहसा निःप्राकृताकारिणं[12] कुंडाभ्यर्णत एव धाम दधतं स्वायंभुवं त्रोस्थि-
तं(तम्) ॥६८(७०)॥[2]

[1] This *danda* is superfluous.
[2] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
[3] Metre : *Anuṣṭubh.*
[4] First *gi* was engraved which was afterwards made *yā*.
[5] Either omit *sisarga* and read *Somī(mē)śa-Gaṅgānāthe-*, or read *Somī(mē)śō.*
[6] Omit *Tri* for the sake of the metre.
[7] This verbal noun is here used for its causative form *saṁsrāpayitri.*
[8] Read °*dhārayā.*
[9] The syllable *du* has a superfluous medial *ē* stroke.
[10] Read *-prabhāvēṇa.*
[11] Read *patiḥ.*
[12] Read *niḥprākṛtā-ākāriṇam.*

23 नाशो(सो)द्यच जिनेंद्रपादनमनं नो धर्मकर्मार्ज्जनं [न] [स्नानं*] न विलेपनं न च तपो ध्यानं न दानार्चनं(नम्) । नो वा सम्यनिदर्शनं [न] [⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —][1][द्यचेतन्निखिलं बभूव मदनं] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥७०(७१)॥][2] तत्कुंडमध्यादय निर्ज्जगाम श्रीसोयकस्यागमनेन पद्मा । श्रीवेचपालस्तदर्थावि(वि)का च [श्रीज्वा]लिनी श्रीधरणीरगेंद्रः ॥७१(७२)॥[3] यदावतारम[4]कार्षीदच पार्श्वजिनेस्र(श्व)रः [।*] तदा नागह्रदे यत्तगिरिस्तंब:(बः) प्रपात[5] सः ॥७२(७३)॥[6] यत्तोपि दत्तवान् स्वप्नं लक्ष्मण:[7] व्र(व्र)ह्मचारिणः । तत्राहमपि यास्यामि यत्र पार्श्वविभुर्गम ॥७३(७४)॥[8] रैवतीकुंड-

24 नीरेण या नारी स्नानमाचरेत् [।*] सा पुत्रं भर्तृसौभाग्यं [ल][क्ष्मीं च*] [ल]भते स्थिरं(रम्) ॥७४(७५)॥[9] ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वापि [वै][श्यो वा शूद्र एव वा । रव*]तीस्नानकर्त्ता [यः*] स प्राप्नोत्युत्तमां गतीं(तिम्) ॥७५(७६)॥[9] ध[नं] धा[नं(न्यं)] ध[रां धाम धै]र्यं धोरेयतां धियं(यम्) । धराधिपतिसम्मानं लक्ष्मीं चाप्नोति पुष्कलां(लाम्) ॥७६(७७)॥[9] तीर्थावतर्यमिदं जनेन विदितं यद्दीयते सांप्रतं कुस्र(ष्ठ)प्रेतपिशाचकुज्वररुजाहीनांगगंडापहं(हम्) । संन्यासं च चकार निर्मलभयं घूकस्रगालीह्रयं काकी नाकमवाप देवकलया किं किं न संपद्यते ॥७७(७८)॥[9] श्राव्यं जन्म कृतं धनं च सफलं नीता प्रसिद्धिं मतिः ।*

25 सद्धर्मोपि च दर्शितस्तनुरुहस्वप्नोप्पितः[*] सत्यता(ताम्) । — — — ⏑ रद्दृष्टिदूषितमनाः सद्द(ट्ट)ष्टिमार्गो कृतो जै[नै] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — [सुकृति]ना श्रीलोलकश्रेष्ठिनः ॥७८(७९)॥[9] किं मेरोः शृंगमेतत् किमुत हिमगिरेः कूटकोटिप्रकांडं किं वा कैलासकूटं किमथ सुरपतेः[10] स्वर्विमानं विमानं(नम्) [।*] इत्थं यत्तर्क्यते स्म प्रतिदिनममरैम(मं)र्त्यराजोत्करैर्व्वा मन्ये श्रीलोलकस्य त्रिभुवनभरणादुच्छ्रितं कीर्त्तिपुंजं(जम्) ॥७९(८०)॥[10] पवनधुतपत(ता)कापाणितो भव्यमुख्यान् पटुपटहनिनादादाह्वयत्येष जैनः । कलिकलुषमयोघैर्दूरमुत्सारयेद्वा त्रिभुवनवि-

[1] Remnants of some of the lost syllables within these brackets are no doubt visible, but are difficult of restoration.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[4] Read *'vatāraśrīḥ* for the sake of the metre, taking ā to mean *samavāśrī.* Or read *'vatārakarōd-*.

[5] Read *papāta.*

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Omit *visarga* and read *Lakshmaṇa-vratāśra[ma]°.*

[8] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[9] Read *varapatēḥ.*

[10] Metre: *Svāgatā.*

26 [भु][ला[1]]भावृत्यतीवालयोयं(यम्) ॥८०(८१)॥[1] [काचि[2]][त्स्था]नकमाधरंति दधते काश्चिच्च गीतोत्सवं काश्चिद्दि(दि भ्रति तालर्थं(कं) स(सु)ललितं कुर्व्वंति नृत्यं च काः । काश्चिदाद्यमुपानयंति निभृतं ।[2] वीणास्वरं कायन यच्चोच्चैर्द्विजकिंकिणीयुवतयः केषां मुदे नाभवन् ॥८१(८२)॥[3] यः सद्वृत्तयुतः सुदीप्तिकलितस्वासादिदोषोज्झितचिंताख्यातपदार्थदानचतुरचिंतामणिः सोदरः । सोभूच्छ्रीजिनचंद्रसूरिसुगुरुस्तत्पादपंकेरुहे यो भृंगायत एव लोलकवरस्तीर्थं चकारेष सः ॥८२(८३)॥[4] रेवत्याः सरितस्तटे तरुवरा यत्राद्दयंते भृशं ॥[4]

27 शाखावा(आ)हुलतोत्करैर्व्व[रसु]रान्युंस्कोकिलानां रुतैः । मत्पुष्पोच्चयपल्लवत्फलचयैरानि-[म्रं][ले*]र्व्वारिभिर्भो भोभ्यर्च्चयतां[5]भिषेकयत वा श्रीपार्श्वनाथं विभुं(भुम्) ॥८३(८४)॥[5] यावत्पुष्करतीर्थमेकतकुलं यावच्च गंगाजलं यावत्तारकचंद्रभास्करकरा(रा) यावच्च दिक्कुंजराः । यावच्छ्रीजिनचंद्रशासनमिदं यावच्च[द्वं]द्रं पदं तावत्तिष्ठ(ष्ठ)तु यः[6] प्रशस्तिमस्ति[7]मचितं जैनं स्थिरं मंदिरं(रम्) ॥८४(८५)॥[6] पूर्व्वतो रेवतीसिंधुर्द्देवस्यापि पुरं तथा । दक्षिणस्यां मठस्थानमुदीच्यां कुंडमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥८५(८६)॥[6] दक्षिणोत्तरतो वाटी नानाद्रुद्यैरलंकृता । कारितं

28 लोलिकेनैतत् समायतनसंयुतं(तम्) ॥८६(८७)॥[8] श्रीमन्मा(न्मा)[थु*]रसिं(सं)घेभूद्गणभद्रेण[9] महामुनि[:*]। कृता प्रम(श)स्तिरेषा य(च) कवि[कं]ठ[वि]भूषणा(णम्) ॥८७(८८)॥[8] नैगमान्वयकायस्थकीर्तिगस्य च सूनुना । लिखिता केम(श)वेनेदं(यं) मुक्ताफलमिव(वो)[10]ज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ला ॥८८(८९)॥[9] हरसिंग[11] सूत्रधाराय[12] तत्पुत्रो पाल्हणो भुवि । तदंगजेमाछडेनापि[13] निर्म्मापित[14] जिनमंदिरं(रम्) ॥८९(९०)॥[9] नागिनः(ग)पुत्रगोविंदपाल्हणसुतदेल्हणौ[15] । उत्कीर्णा प्रम(श)स्तिरेषा च[16] कीर्तिस्तंभं(भः) प्रतिष्ठितं(तः) ॥९०(९१)॥[9] प्रसिद्धिमगमद्देवः काले विक्रमभास्वतः । यहिं(हिं)म(श)द्वादशशते फाल्गुने कृष्णपक्षके ॥९१(९२)॥[9]

[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.
[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[4] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[5] Read *-bhāṅ bhō archchayat=abhishēchayata.* |
[6] Read *tat=*. This syllable is so misshaped that its proper reading is difficult. It, however, looks like *dpaḥ*.
[7] The syllables *asti* are superfluous.
[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[9] Read *°d=Guṇabhadrēṇa*.
[10] Better read *navīnā-phala-vad=*.
[11] Read *Harasiṅha*.
[12] Read *sūtradhārāya*.
[13] Read *tat-sutēna=Ahaḍēn=āpi*.
[14] Read *nirmmāpitaṁ*.
[15] As in verse 88 here also the first half is in active and the second half in passive voice.
[16] This letter is superfluous.

29 [ल]तीयायां तिथौ वारे गुरु(रौ) स्था(ता)रे च हस्तके । धृतिनामनि योगे च करणे तैतिले तथा ॥८[२](८३)॥[1] [सं]वत् १२२६ फाल्गुन वदि ३ [।*] कांवारेवणग्रामयोरंतराले गुहिलपु(पु)त्रा०[2]दाधरमहं[3]धणसी(सि)ङाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चेचडोहली १ [।*] खदुंवरग्रामवास्तव्यगौडसोनिगवासुदेवाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) डोहलिका १ [।*] रांतरीपतिगणके रायतायामीयमहं(ह)त्तमलींवडियोपलिभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) चे'च-डोहलिका १ [।*] वडीवायामवास्तव्यपारिग्रही[4] आल्हणेन दत्त(त्ता) चेचडोहलिका १ [।*] लघुवीभ्रोलीग्रामसं[5]गुहिलपुत्रा०[6]व्याहरुमहं(ह)त्तममाहवा-

30 [भ्यां द]त्त(त्ता) चे[च]डोहलिका १ [।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा(धा) भुक्ता राजभिर्म्मरतादय(दिभिः) । यस्य यस्य [य]दा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[7] ॥छ॥

No. 10.—A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF VALLALA : A.D. 911-2.

BY THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.[8]

A record[9] dated in the 6th year of a Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman at Puḷḷamaṅgai in the Tanjore District reads as follows :—

Svasti Śrī [।*] Kō-p**Parakēsariparma[r*]kku yāṇḍu āṟāvadu** Kiḻār-kūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Tiruvāladuṟai-Mahādēva[r*]kku **Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar** śirukūḷai-sandikku iru-nāḻi arisiyālum arai-ppiḍi neyy-amidālum nisadanum tiruvamidu śēvadaṟku vilaikku viṭṭu-kkuḍutta nilam.....

and it registers a gift of land by Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya to the temple of Tiruvāladuṟai-Mahādēva at Puḷḷamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Kiḻār-kūṟṟam, in the 6th year of king Parakēsarivarman. The record can palæographically be attributed to the 10th century A. D., and it must therefore belong either to Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-53) or to Uttama-Chōḷa (A. D. 970-986), the only two Parakēsarins who ruled for at least 6 years in this period.

Now from the Sholinghur record[10] dated in the 9th year of the Chōḷa king, specified only by the title of Parakēsarivarman and identified with Parāntaka I, it is learnt that the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivīpati II was given the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja', while the Udayēndiram Plates[11] of the 15th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I) state that this chieftain was

[1] Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

[2] *Rō*° probably stands for Rāuta or Rāval.

[3] *Mahaṇ* stands for महत्तम· modern Mēhtā.

[4] The letter *khā* is misshaped.

[5] *Pārigrahī* seems to be an official title of a revenue collector.

[6] *Sam* probably stands for *saṅgata* or *saṁbaddha* 'associated or connected with'.

[7] There are three indistinct signs after this pair of *daṇḍas*.

[8] [I have to record here with deep regret that Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar breathed his last without seeing this article finally printed. By his death we have lost a sound scholar of South-Indian History.—Ed.]

[9] No. 559 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

[10] *Ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-25. It may be noted that the king in this record is also specified by the title of Kō-pParakēsarivarman only, without the epithet of 'Madiraikoṇḍa'.

[11] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 76.

called 'Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya'. As the latter title occurs also in this record of the 6th year of a Parakēsarivarman, it is reasonable to assume that this king is identical with Parāntaka I[1], though the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa' which he had assumed from the 3rd year onwards is lacking.[2] The record cannot be attributed to the other Parakēsarin, Uttama-Chōḷa, for the reason that Piritipatiyār (Pṛithivīpati II), son of Māṟamaraiyar (Māṟasiṁha), who figures in an epigraph[3] of the 24th year of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I), corresponding to A. D. 895, cannot possibly have been living so late as the 6th year of Uttama-Chōḷa, corresponding to A. D. 975. It may therefore be inferred that the title of '**Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya**' together with the chiefship over the Bāṇa territory, had been **conferred on Pṛithivīpati II**, before the 6th year of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, corresponding to **A. D. 912-13**.

Parāntaka I had assumed the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa', *i.e.*, 'he who took Madura' from the 3rd year[4] of his reign, and so his first southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya king of Madura must have taken place in about A. D. 909-10.[5] As Pṛithivīpati had been granted the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja' before A. D. 912-13, as noted above, the northern campaign in which this Gaṅga feudatory had helped his suzerain against a Bāṇa chieftain, success in which had evidently earned for him both the Bāṇa title and the Bāṇa territory, must have occurred between A. D. 910 and 912-13, *i.e.*, in about A. D. 911-12. As the Sholinghur record particularly mentions that Pṛithivīpati had won distinction in a battle called **Vallā**[ḷa] and thus vindicated 'his fitness for the possession of a particle of the sun'[6], presumably his position as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king of the Solar race, it is possible that this battle was fought in this Bāṇa campaign only, in about **A. D. 911-12**.

The Udayēndiram Plates state that before his 15th year Parāntaka had defeated two Bāṇa chieftains and a Vaidumba chief[7]. It is not definitely stated who they were, and whether the two Bāṇas had been worsted in a single campaign or in two separate engagements. Three inscriptions of Māvali-Bāṇarāja which are attributable to Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru are dated in Śaka 820, 827 and 832 (A. D. 898 to 910), without mentioning the names of any overlords[8]. It is evident from this that the Bāṇa chiefs who had been feudatories of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī had declared their semi-independence, after the extinction of that dynasty by the Chōḷa king Āditya I[9]. In the absence of other similarly dated records of Bāṇa chiefs soon after A. D. 909-10, in this region, it may be inferred that they had met with reverses at the hands of the Chōḷa conqueror Parāntaka, who allying himself with the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivīpati II on his north-western frontier had probably defeated them in the battle of Vallāḷa in A. D. 911-12.

[1] It may be noticed that a record of Parāntaka, 11th year, engraved in the same temple (No. 558 of 1921) closely resembles the present inscription in point of palæography.

[2] Several inscriptions attributable to Parāntaka I simply call him a Parakēsarivarman without the distinguishing titles—*e.g.*, No. 376 of 1917, 443 of 1907, etc. So the absence of the title is no bar against the identification of the Parakēsarivarman of No. 559 of 1921 above with Parāntaka I.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

[4] No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928, etc.

[5] The date of accession of Parāntaka I fell between January and July, A. D. 907.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224, V-8. The Chōḷas belonged to the solar race, and as Pṛithivīpati also assumed the title of Vīra-Chōḷa, the poet seems to suggest that he 'acquired a spark of the Sun' (*ibid.*, p. 225, f. n. 5).

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-240 and No. 168 of 1921.

[9] There is a record of a Bāṇarāja dated in Śaka 810, which may belong to Vijayāditya or his father Vikramāditya Bāṇavidyādhara (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 44). This date which is equivalent to A. D. 888 gives an indication as to when the Pallava power was destroyed and Āditya I overran Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

The two Bāṇa opponents may have been Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru, whose dated records come up to A. D. 909-10 and who probably lost his life in this battle, and his son Vikramāditya who figures as the heir-apparent in the Gudimallam Plates[1].

One other point of historical interest may be considered in this connection. The Kanyākumari inscription[2] of the 7th year of the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndradēva (A. D. 1069) states that Parāntaka had earned the title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' by his victory over the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and narrates this event after his conquest of Madura. In verse 9 of the Sholinghur record[3] noted above, which contains the *captatio benevolentiæ*, Parāntaka is mentioned with this title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' and from the Tamil verse at the end of that inscription it is evident that his Gaṅga feudatory Pṛithivīpati had also assumed the same title of his overlord. So if the Kanyākumari record's statement can be relied on, **Parāntaka** who had assumed the title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' before A. D. 916, must also have **defeated a Kṛishṇarāja** before that date.

Who was the powerful Kṛishṇarāja who lived in this period? The only king whom Parāntaka could have met in battle on his north-western frontier at this time was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II who reigned from about A. D. 879 to 912; and the political situation in this period was such as to render plausible the Chōḷa and the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings ranging themselves on opposite sides[4]. We may therefore have to suppose that **Kṛishṇa II**[5] had come to the help of the Bāṇas, as against the Chōḷa Parāntaka I and the Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati II, and had probably suffered defeat in the battle of Vallāḷa noted above. If specific references to this event are absent in records of Kṛishṇa II, it is only to be expected; for the king would not have mentioned his own reverses in his inscriptions, and further A. D. 912 fell almost in the end of his reign. It is, however, inexplicable why the other Chōḷa documents, such as the Anbil, Leiden and Tiruvālangāḍu copper-plate records are silent in regard to this achievement of Parāntaka I, while it is only the later Kanyākumari inscription that has made particular mention of it. This point has to be elucidated only by future discoveries.

Vallāḷa, the scene of the fight, may perhaps be identified with Tiruvallam in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District, which was an important place in the old Bāṇa territory, and which an invading army was likely to attack first. It was called Tikkāli-Vallam in the early times, and it is possible that the name of 'Valla' was transformed into 'Vallāḷa' by the encomiast of the Sholinghur record, to suit the metrical exigencies of the Sanskrit verse in which he has introduced this village-name.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.

[2] *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 58.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224. The same verse occurs also in the Udayēndiram Plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 383) with the word *Ēkavīrah* substituted for *Vīra-Chōḷah*. Dr. Hultzsch has wrongly identified the Vīra-Chōḷa of this verse with Prithivipati, whereas it refers to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka only.

[4] In this connection, the possibility of attributing a few records from the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District to Kṛishṇa II, requires further investigation. (*Epig. Rept.* for 1933-34, Part II, para. 8.) The *Uttara-purāṇa*'s reference to Kṛishṇa's elephants having gone as far as Kumari may, however, be only conventional praise. (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 97, f. n. 27.)

[5] It is possible that Āditya I had married the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and had a son called Kannaradēva by her; and when Parāntaka succeeded to the Chōḷa throne, Kṛishṇa II may have felt some grudge against the Chōḷa king, resulting in his own joining the Bāṇa side.

No. 11.—TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA; G. E. 116.

By M. B. Garde, B.A., Director of Archæology, Gwalior State.

This inscription was discovered by me in February 1919, in the course of an exploration tour, at **Tumain**, a large village in the Guna District of Gwalior State. It was mentioned in my *Annual Administration Report* for Vikrama Saṁvat 1975 (A. D. 1918-19) and a short note was published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15. It is now edited with full text, translation and facsimile.

The stone on which it is inscribed was found stuck up in a wall of a small dilapidated mosque at Tumain. It is now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior. Unfortunately the left (proper right) part (probably more than one half) of the stone is broken off and missing, and consequently the first half of all the lines, lost. The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 24" broad by 7" high. The surviving part of the inscription contains only six lines of writing, but the missing part had a portion of one more line. The epigraph is written in Gupta **characters** of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being $\frac{3}{8}$". The recovered portion of the record is well preserved and the text can be read with certainty with the exception of a few letters. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct. It is noteworthy that the present tense is used in the sense of the historic past in two places: *vandyatē* and *jayati* in line 1. There are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, *e.g.*, *kamalaṁ mattyaṁ* for *kamalaṁ-achchhaṁ*, *vandyētē* for *vandyatē*, and *saṁhaiḥ* for *saṁghaiḥ* in line 1, *prithivyāṁ* for *prithivyāṁ* and *virājdmānē* for *virājamānē* in line 4, *Saṁbadēva* for *Saṁghadēva* in line 5, and *śriṁga* for *śriṁga* in line 6.

The sign of punctuation at the end of the quarters and halves of verses, or at the end of complete verses, is expressed either by a single horizontal stroke as in lines 1 and 4, or by two upright strokes as in lines 3, 4 and 6. But where the verses or their halves end in a final *m* or in a *visarga*, the sign of punctuation is not expressed at all. The final *m* at the end of verses, their halves or quarters is never combined with the following consonant but is expressed, as is usual at this period, by reducing the size of the letter and placing a horizontal stroke over it (*e.g.* lines 1, 2 and 4).

As regards **orthography**, it is enough to note that a consonant is often doubled after *r*, *e.g.* *kīrttir-bhuj-ārjjalīṁ* in line 3; *t* is doubled before *r* in *lōka-ttray-āntē* in line 1; the sign of *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in *tatgā-kanīyān* in line 5.

As remarked above, this is a fragmentary inscription, having lost the first part of each line. The recovered text is wholly in verse. Line 1 gives us a portion of a verse in *Mālinī* metre and the first line of the following verse, a *Sragdharā*. Line 2 contains a complete *Upajāti*. Line 3 consists of the latter half of a *Vasantatilakā* followed by the first half of an *Upēndravajrā*. Line 4 has preserved an almost complete verse and the first quarter of another, both in *Upajāti* metre. In line 5 we have the last quarter of an *Indravajrā* or perhaps *Upajāti* verse followed by a complete *Upēndravajrā*. Parts of two verses in *Upēndravajrā* metre have survived in line 6. The existing portion of the epigraph thus comprises 11 verses, 3 of which have been completely recovered while 8, partially. From the calculation of the missing letters of the verses, and of the average space covered by each letter it would appear that the whole composition consisted of nearly sixteen verses.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of a god (whose name is lost) by five brothers residing at **Tumbavana**. The names of the brothers in the order of seniority were Haridēva, Śridēva, Dhanyadēva, Bhadradēva and Saṁghadēva. The **date** si

recorded in words as **one hundred and sixteenth year** of the kings (of the Gupta dynasty), which is equivalent to A.D. 435. No season, month or day is specified. In the genealogical portion, the first existing verse seems to allude to Samudragupta. The next verse eulogises his (son and) successor **Chandragupta** as one who conquered the earth extending as far as the oceans. In line 2 **Kumāragupta** is described as Chandragupta's son, who protected the whole earth as his lawful wife. Line 3 follows with the name of **Ghaṭōtkachagupta** who is compared to the moon and is praised as having attained the fame of his ancestors.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kumāragupta** who is described as shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth as the sun in winter, in the year 116 of the (Gupta) kings. Thus Chandragupta and Kumāragupta of our inscription are the same as Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

The main **historical importance** of the inscription lies in the information it contains about **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**. That he was a member of the Imperial Gupta family is shown by the manner in which he is referred to in this inscription.[1] His mention immediately after Kumāragupta who was occupying the imperial throne at the time of the inscription is perhaps to be explained by the hypothesis that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was then holding the office of the governor of the province of Airikiṇa (Eran) which included Tumbavana (Tumain), the provenance of the inscription. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumāragupta (the ruling Emperor) and Ghaṭōtkachagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a son or possibly a younger brother of Kumāragupta I.

So far, the name of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was known from two documents: (1) a clay seal[2] found at Basāṛh bearing the inscription *Śrī Ghaṭōtkachaguptasya*, and (2) a coin[3] in the St. Petersburg collection which according to Mr. Allan bears on the obverse traces of a marginal legend ending in *Guptaḥ* and beneath the king's arm *Ghaṭō* with a crescent above, and on the reverse a legend which seems to read *Kramādityaḥ*.

The late Dr. Bloch[4] was inclined to identify Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh seal with *Mahārāja* Ghaṭōtkacha, the father and predecessor of Chandragupta I and this view was accepted by the late Dr. V. A. Smith.[5] But Mr. Allan[6] pointed out the difficulties in the way of this identification and surmised that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a member of the Imperial Gupta family, who held some office at the court of the *Yuvarāja* at Vaiśālī (Basāṛh) during the reign of Chandragupta II. The Ghaṭō[tkachagupta] of the coin in the St. Petersburg collection is believed by Mr. Allan to be still another Ghaṭōtkachagupta on the ground that the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the 5th century, and he says that it therefore cannot be referred either to Ghaṭōtkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, or to Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh[2] seal. Mr. Allan's view is corroborated by our inscription. There is little doubt that the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of our inscription who, in G. E. 116, was probably the governor of Airikiṇa, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh seal.

Two **place names** occur in this inscription. These are **Vaṭōdaka** in line 4 and **Tumbavana** in line 6. Tumbavana which is mentioned in six of the votive inscriptions[7] on

[1] See line 3 of the text.

[2] *A.R., A.S.I.*, for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.

[3] Allan's *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties, etc.*, Introduction, p. liv, p. 149 and plate XXIV, 3.

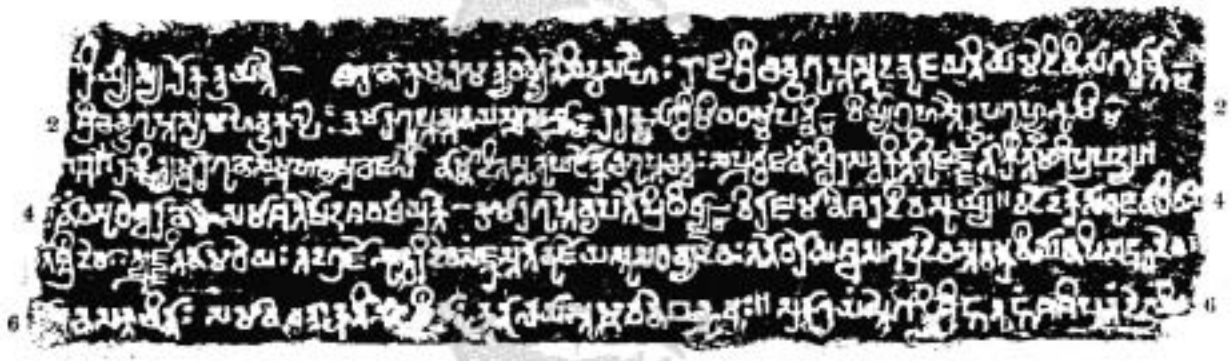
[4] *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 153 and *Early History of India* (1914 ed., p. 280, Note 1).

[5] Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii and liv.

[6] Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, p. liv.

[7] Nos. 16, 17a, 18, 20, 21, and 348 in *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 302, and 335. Also above, Vol. X, Appendix, Lüders' *List*, Nos. 460, 201, 202, 449, and 630.

TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA; G. E. 116.



P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. No. 2017 E'40—560.

the balustrade of the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchī and also in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (*XIV*, *15*) of Varāhamihira, is no doubt to be identified with Tumain where our inscription was discovered. Tumain is an ancient site and some of its monumental and sculptural antiquities go back to the period to which our inscription belongs. It is six miles to the south of Tukneri Station on the Bina-Kotah branch line of the G. I. P. Railway, and about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran (ancient Airikiṇa).

Vaṭōdaka[1] is very probably modern Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa District of Gwalior State, about 10 miles to the south of Eran, and which is an old place having in its neighbourhood monumental relics of the late Gupta and a small rock inscription[2] of the early Gupta period.

TEXT.

1 [रि]र्य्यस्य लोकत्रयान्ते । चरणकमलं(ल)मर्च्च्यं(र्च्चं) वन्द्ये(न्द्य)ते सिद्धसङ्घैः(ङ्घैः) [॥*] राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनुजयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्

2 — श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्त्रिमयाम् [।*] ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम् वीर्य्यावहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् [॥*]

3 [— ⌣] गौरः चित्यम्बरे गुणसमुद्गमयूखजालो नाक्षोदितस्य तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः [॥*] स पूर्व्वजानां स्थिरसत्वकीर्त्तिर्भुजार्ज्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिप्रपद्य ॥(।)

4 [गुप्तान्वया*[3]]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्] समाप्यते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते । कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ पृ(पृ)थिव्याम् विराजा(ज)माने शरदीव सूर्य्ये ॥ वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 तस्थौदेव इत्यर्ज्जितनामधेयः [॥*] तदपजोभूद्धरिदेवमंज्ञस्ततोनुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः [।*] ततोवरो यच्च स भद्रदेवस्तत×कनीयानपि सङ्घ(ङ्घ)देव[ः॥*]

6 — नसन्नचित्ताः समान[ङ्घ]त्तान्नति[भावधीराः क्षता']लया[स्तु]म्बवने ब[भू]वुः ॥ चकारयंस्ते गिरि[त्र](श्र)ङ्गतुङ्गं शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[केतनं'—।]

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Whose lotus-like beautiful foot was adored by multitudes of Siddhas (sages) throughout the three worlds. After him king *Śrī* **Chandragupta** conquered the earth as far as the oceans.

L. 2. *Śrī* Chandragupta's son **Kumāragupta** who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands.

L. 3. The moon bearing the name **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**, fair and having a network of rays (*in the form*) of a multitude of virtues rose in the sky (*in the form*) of the earth. He whose goodness and fame were steady, having attained the glory won by his ancestors with (*the prowess of their own*) arms.

L. 4. In the year one hundred and sixteen of the lords of the earth (*in the Gupta dynasty*) when king **Kumāragupta** was shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth like the sun in the winter. At **Vaṭōdaka** which was the abode of good people,

[1] Compare Agodaka (Agrōdaka) on coins-Agrohs; Prithūdaka-Pacha.

[2] This inscription is engraved on a tablet near a panel of sculptures representing the *Sapta Mātṛikās*, both carved in rock on a hill. It was dated but the portion giving the year and month, has peeled off, leaving behind only *śukla-divasē trayōdaśyām*. It mentions *Vishayēśvara Mahārāja* Jayatsēna. The record is badly damaged and is unpublished so far.

[3] The portion within square brackets is conjecturally restored.

L. 5. (*there lived a person*) who bore the distinguished appellation Śrīdēva.[1] His elder brother was Haridēva by name. The brother born after him was Dhanyadēva. His younger brother was Bhadradēva and next (younger) to him was Saṅghadēva.

L. 6. Of minds attached to,.....of similar manners, of noble appearance and disposition, (*they had*) their home at **Tumbavana** (*where*) they built a (*temple*) of god (.....), shining like the moon and lofty like a mountain peak.

No. 12.—TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNALA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The two *yūpa* inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni at **Barnāla** in the Jaipur State with the assistance of Thakur Sheonath Singhji of Kānota. Barnāla is a small village, belonging to the Thakur Sahib of Barnāla, about eight miles from the Lalsote-Gangapur fair-weather road. The two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars, on which these inscriptions have been inscribed, were discovered in a large tank, close to the village. Each of the *yūpas* had been broken into two pieces at a height of about 6 and 6½ feet respectively from the bottom. The Government Epigraphist for India kindly sent to me ink impressions of these records with a request to edit them for the *Epigraphia Indica*; I am doing so accordingly.

The late Rai Bahadur Sahni has noticed these inscriptions in his report on *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar* during Samvat years 1993 and 1994 (1936-37 and 1937-38 A. D.), pp. 3 ff. Therein he gives the following description of the *yūpas*: "The girdle or *pāṭa* which is well executed round the two pillars at Mathura is absent in the Barnāla pillars as well as in those from Baḍvā. The projecting *chashāla* is square in one of the Barnāla *yūpas* and octagonal in the other. Like the Mathura pillars those under notice are square at the base but only up to a height of 3' 6" and 4' 5" respectively. The wreath is not represented. *Yūpa* No. 1 at Barnāla (Pl. XVII, *a*), which is 21' 2½" in height including the lower square portion is, as far as I am aware, the highest *yūpa* so far known to us." As to their present whereabouts, he says: "Both these *yūpa* pillars have been removed from Barnāla to the Hawa Mahal in the city of Jaipur, where portable antiquities unearthed during the excavations of last three seasons have been displayed for the benefit of the public."

In my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita Year 295', I have discussed in detail the general problems connected with the nature and significance of the *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars. I would refer the reader to that paper[2] for information on this point.

As on the *yūpas* at Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, the inscriptions on both these *yūpas* have been engraved in long vertical lines to be read from top to bottom. The engraver has not followed the more convenient method of inscribing the record in short horizontal lines engraved one below the other, which is followed on the *yūpa* in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.[3] The inscription on the pillar A is of one line only, while that on the pillar B is in two lines, inscribed on two adjacent facets of the octagonal shaft. The first line is 8' 5" and the second 9' long[4]. Both the inscriptions have been sadly mutilated; it is an irony of fate that the

[1] Śrīdēva seems to have been the most important or influential among the brothers, as his name is given precedence over that of his elder brother.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff. [3] *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 243 ff.

[4] In the Report, above referred to, it has been stated that the first line is 9' and the second 8' 5". A glance at the plate will show that the first line is shorter than the second and not vice versâ.

mutilations should have led to the disappearance of only the names of the sacrificers, who had taken so much trouble to enlighten the posterity about the sacrifices which they had performed.

As will be presently shown, the inscriptions belong to the 3rd century A. D. and their **characters** bear a general resemblance to those of other contemporary records from northern India, especially with those on the *yūpas* of Baḍvā and the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The characters on the *yūpa* A have been very neatly and carefully engraved, but those on the *yūpa* B have been inscribed in such a slipshod and careless manner that the task of deciphering them becomes very difficult. Subscripts of conjuncts and medial vowel signs are very often omitted or very badly executed; and in some cases it would appear that words have been wrongly spelt. We shall have to speak more about this point, when we discuss this inscription.

The **language** of the inscription A may be described as Sanskrit, with occasional influence of Prakrit, as when *sa-gōttasya*[1] and *puṇya*[2] have been written for *sa-gōtrasya* and *puṇya* respectively. The inscription B may be described as being written in incorrect Prakrit, with occasional mixture of Sanskrit expressions like *śuddhasya* in l.1 and *dharmō vardhḍha[tōm]* in l.2.

The **orthography** of the records calls for no particular remarks.

Symbols for **numerals** for 200, 80 and 4 appear in the inscription A and for the numerals 300, 90, 30, and 5 appear in the inscription B. They are similar to those found in contemporary records in northern and western India. In the record B, the two small strokes that were necessary to be attached to the symbol for 100 in order to convert it into 300 have been joined together so as to form an angle with each other; usually the additional strokes are written horizontally one below the other.

INSCRIPTION ON THE YŪPA A.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham* and then proceeds to state its time. **Its date is the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the Kṛita year 284.** As is well known, the Kṛita era[3] is the same as the Vikrama era, and so the date of the record would be 228 A. D. The earliest inscription in the Vikrama era so far discovered is that on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, which is dated in the Kṛita year 282. Our inscription would then be the second earliest record of this era. It is 11 years earlier than the Baḍvā *yūpa* records, which are dated in the Kṛita year 295.

After stating its precise date, the record proceeds to inform us that on the date mentioned, seven *yūpas* were erected by a person whose *gōtra* was Sōhartṛi and whose name ended in **-varddhana**. The *gōtra* is spelt as Sōhartta, but it is obviously the same as Sōhatṛi, which occurs among the *gōtras* of the *Bhāradvājakāyaḍa*, having the option of three or five *pravaras*.[4] It is very sad that the mutilation of the record should have occurred just on that part where the name and the parentage of the sacrificer were mentioned. His name ended in *varddhana*, as observed already. The two letters immediately preceding *varddhana* cannot be made out; but the two next preceding letters appear to have been *rājñō*, to judge from the traces they have left behind. It would therefore appear that **the sacrificer was a king bearing a name of five letters, the last three of which were** *varddhana*. We can also see the

[1] [See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

[2] [See below p. 120, n. 11.—Ed.]

[3] See *ante* Vol. XXIII, pp. 48-52 for a discussion on the Kṛita era.

[4] वैदकानि: सोहर्तां कारी . . . दन्येते गर्गांसेषां पञ्चार्षेयस्त्रार्षेयो वा प्रवरो भवति। *Gōtrapravarasiddhakāḍaṇḍa* (Second edition), p. 56. [See below p. 120, n. 8. —Ed.]

traces of the letters *rājñō* after the word *sa-gōttasya*. Then follows space for two, or possibly three letters, which is now practically blank; but thereafter we can discern faint traces of the letters *ya* and *tta*. It would therefore appear that after giving the *gōtra* of the sacrificing king, the record had proceeded to give his parentage. His father was also a king and had a name of two or three letters. The restoration here suggested leaves no space for the letter *sya* coming after *putra*; probably that letter had been dropped. It is also possible that it may have been destroyed when the pillar was broken into two.

The concluding portion of the record reads, *yūpa-sattak(ṅ)ō(aṅ) puṇṇava*[1]. I do not know the extent of the damage to the *yūpa* subsequent to this portion; it however appears very probable that the record ended with the words *puṇṇava*[*rddhak(ṅ)ō(aṅ) bhavatu*], expressing the hope that the sacrificial performance may increase the merit of the performer. The reference to the group of seven *yūpas* may show that the king had performed seven sacrifices; they were very probably the seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. The sacrifices included in this group were *Agniṣṭōma*, *Atyagniṣṭōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptōryāma*.[2] The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* commemorates the performance of these very sacrifices.

The inscription clearly refers to a group of seven *yūpas*. The *yūpa* of the record B does not belong to this group, as it commemorates a sacrifice performed 51 years later. It is therefore not unlikely that a diligent search in the locality may lead to the discovery of more sacrificial pillars.[3]

TEXT.[4]

Siddham[5] |[6] Kṛitēchi 200 80 4 Chaittra-śukla-pakshasya paṭi(ḍi)chadasi[7] []* Sōhartta[8]-sagōttasya[9] [rāj]ñō[10]...p[u]tt[ra*]sya [rāj]ñō[10]...varddhanasya yūpa-sattakō[11] puṇṇa[12]-va[rddhakaṁ bhavatu *]

TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! The full-moon day of (*the month of*) Chaitra of the year 284 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). May this group of seven sacrificial pillars of king varddhana, son of king, of Sōhartṛi *gōtra*, [increase] the merit (*of the sacrifices*)!

[1] [See below n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 6, 27. [3] [But see below n. 10.—Ed.]

[4] Edited from an ink-impression.

[5] The stop *m* is indicated by a small letter *ma* written below the line.

[6] The full-stop is indicated by the rather unusual device of two dots, written like a *visarga*.

[7] Read *Śōkadri*. The medial *mātrā* for *ō* looks to some extent like the medial *ī* *sātrā*; but since the *Gōtrapravarasiddhakalpadruma* gives Sōhartṛi as the name of the *gōtra*, we must read the first letter as a rather irregular *sō*.

[8] [The reading appears to be correctly *Sōharttri-sagōttrasya*. The curl representing the medial *ri* in the syllable *ttri* is partly discernible, and so is also the sign for the subscript *r* in the letter *ttra*. Besides, otherwise the lengthening of the right-hand stroke of the second *t* in the syllables concerned is unaccountable.—B. C. C.]

[9] There are faint traces of these letters.

[10] Read *sapṭaṇṇaṁ*. [The reading appears to be *yūpō sa[ttra]kō*, the sign of the medial *ō* in *pō* resembling that in *sō* or *Śō-mātri*. The wrong *visarga sandhi* betrays the Prakrit influence. The reading of the second syllable is doubtful, inasmuch as it cannot be ascertained whether it is *ttra* or correctly *ttri* though it seems to be the former. In any case, the subscript *r* is pretty clear. We may correct the reading as *yūpaḥ sattrikaḥ*, meaning 'the pillar connected with a sacrifice'. The particular sacrifice is, however, not specified. According to this reading, thus, there is no mention of seven *yūpas*.—B. C. C.]

[11] Read *puṇṇa*. [I see traces of a subscript *ya* below the second *ṇ*; thus the reading is *puṇṇya*, and according to my interpretation, we may restore this portion as *puṇṇyaṁ varddhatāṁ* or *puṇṇyaṁ varddhatu* as is commonly found in similar inscriptions.—B. C. C.]

TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNALA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

A

Left Half

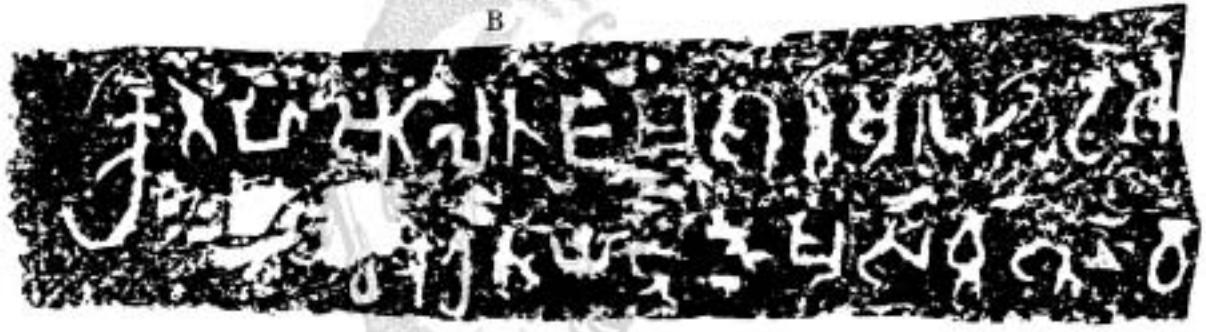


Right Half



B

Left Half



Right Half



SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA CALCUTTA

Inscription on the Yūpa B.

This inscription does not begin with the auspicious word *siddhaṃ*, as does the inscription on the *yūpa* A ; it straightway proceeds to give its date according to the Kṛita, *i. e.*, Vikrama era. **Its date is the fifteenth day, i. e., the full-moon day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha of the Kṛita year 335.** The name of the month is spelt as *Jasha* ; there can be, however, no doubt that the word is intended to stand for Jyēshṭha. *Jasha* for *Jyēshṭha* is but the first example of the carelessness of the engraver of this record. **The date of the record is therefore 279 A. D.**

It would be convenient to discuss the decipherment of the remaining portion of the record from its end ; I therefore proceed to do so. The last four letters of the second line are very clear ; they read *dharmmō varddha*. It is clear that the last word is intended to be *vardhatāṃ* ; the record ends with the hope that religion may prosper. The word preceding *dharmmō* is clearly *priyatāṃ* ; the subscript *r* of *prī* is faintly visible and its medial *ī mātrā* is slightly damaged. The next preceding word clearly reads *Vashṭa* and there is a dot after the last letter, which is clearly a remnant of a *visarga*. I think we have to correct this word into *Vishṇuḥ*. The subscript *ṭa* can also be taken as an ill-executed *ṇa* ; the medial *ī mātrā* was left out in the word *Jyēṣṭha* in l. 1, and a similar mistake seems to have been repeated here. The concluding expression *Vishṇuḥ prīyatāṃ dharmmō vardhatāṃ* would remind us of the expressions *Prīyatā[ṃ]m-Agnayaḥ* and *punaḥ punaḥ prītim-uyāt-Maheśvara iti*, which occur at the end of the inscriptions on the Īsāpur and Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpas* respectively. The royal sacrificer of the Allahabad Museum *yūpa* was a Śaiva advocate of the Vedic sacrificial religion ; in the present case the sacrificer was a Vaishṇava champion of the Vedic rites.

Immediately preceding the emended word Vishṇu there is a triangular symbol, which is almost identical with the symbol occurring at the end of the inscription on the *yūpa* of Balavardhana, found at Baḍvā[1]. This form is therefore not a letter but a mere symbol, marking the end of the main announcement of the record.

Immediately before this concluding symbol, there is another, which clearly stands for 90. Out of the five letters preceding 90, the first is clearly *da*, the second looks like a damaged *kshi*, the third is a *ṇ* with a subscript, the fourth is a *da* or *dā* and the fifth is a *ta*. When we recollect how the Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions end with the expression *Trirātra-sammitasya dakshiṇyaṃ(ṇā) gavāṃ sahasram*, it will be at once clear that these five letters are intended to stand for *dakshiṇyaṃ(ṇā) dāta(dattā)*. The reading of the third letter only is rather doubtful here ; the subscript looks like that of a *r* ; but the main letter is a *ṇ* or *n*, and so the context as well as the use in the Baḍvā records would show that it was intended to be *ṇya* for an original *ṇā*.

These five letters therefore refer to the *dakshiṇā* given to the priests on the occasion of the sacrifice and the symbol for 90 describes its amount. What then were the ninety objects that were given at the end of the sacrifice ?

The name and the description of the 90 things donated to the Brāhmaṇas is given in the preceding seven letters ; for the four letters preceding this group of seven clearly read *yajña ishṭa* to be corrected into *yajñā ishṭāḥ*. The first of these seven letters is a *sā* or *sa* ; the second one is *va* or *vi* ; the third is a conjunct of which the second letter is *ta* and the first very probably *s* ; the fourth is clearly an initial *i* ; the fifth is certainly a *va* ; the sixth is a *vā* ; and the seventh a *ga*. But *savasta iva vāgā* as the description of the ninety articles given in *dakshiṇā* gives no

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing p. 52.

meaning whatsoever. We shall have to emend the text rather drastically, remembering all the while that the engraver was a person who was capable of writing *Jasha* for *Jyēshṭha* and *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu*.

I would suggest, not without very great diffidence, that *savvasta iva cāgā* should be emended into *savatsā iva gāvō*. The *dakshiṇā* given at the sacrifices commemorated on the Baḍvā *yūpas* consisted of kine. The same was probably the case here. *Vāgā* should therefore be changed into *gāvō*; an engraver who writes *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu* is certainly capable of writing *vāgā* for *gāvō*. *Savvasta* does not give any sense, and since it is an adjective of *gāvō*, it is but reasonable to emend it into *savatsā*. The context now shows that *iva* should be changed into *ēva*. The record therefore states that a *dakshiṇā* of 90 cows, not alone but each accompanied with its calf, was given on the occasion.

And what was the occasion? It is mentioned in the opening portion of the second line. Here again the first two letters have been peeled off. The third letter had a subscript *r*, the fourth is *ra* and the fifth *tra*; then comes the numeral 5, which is followed by the words *yajña ishṭa*, as observed already. It is very clear that the 3rd, 4th and 5th letters were intended to be *trirātra*; this part of the record then states that five Trirātra sacrifices were performed when the honorarium of 90 cows along with their calves was given.

As in the case of the inscription on the *yūpa* A, the name of the sacrificer must have followed immediately after the word *pañchadaśi* in the 1st line. The two letters after this word read *bhṛitta*, which have obviously to be corrected into *bhaṭṭa*. After this a considerable portion of the inscription has been peeled off and about six or seven letters have been obliterated completely. They contained the name of the sacrificer. His title *bhaṭṭa* would suggest that he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a king or a general.

The last five letters of the first line are very clear; they are to be read as *tri ta va ṣa su*. *Tritavaṇaśu* however gives no sense. With great hesitation I would emend this word into *Tritavanēshu*; the five Trirātra sacrifices seem to have been performed by the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer not in a village or in a town but in a holy forest known as Trita forest.

One more lacuna, that of the two letters at the beginning of the second line, remains to be considered. The following word here is *trirātra*, and the obliterated word was probably an adjective of that sacrifice. The full and real name of the Trirātra sacrifice, which was an amalgam of Agnishṭōma, Ukthya and Atirātra, was Garga-trirātra[1]; it is possible that the two obliterated letters were *garga* and what remain of them gives some support to this conjecture.

Our record therefore commemorates the performance of five Trirātra or perhaps Garga-trirātra sacrifices by a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer on the full moon day of Jyēshṭha of the Kṛita year 335, corresponding to 279 A. D. The *dakshiṇā* prescribed for a Trirātra sacrifice was one thousand cows. But our sacrificer was probably not rich enough to give it, and so he contented himself by giving only eighteen cows per sacrifice, but each accompanied by a calf. He was a Vaishṇavite also, so he ends the inscription with the hope that Vishṇu would be pleased and religion promoted by his action.

I now give below the reading of the record along with the suggested emendations.

[1] *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

TEXT.[1]

1 Kṛitēhi 300 30 5 Jasha[2](Jyēshṭha)śuddhasya[3] pañ(ñ)chadaśi[i*] Bhṛiṭṭa(Bhaṭṭa)..... Tritavaṇaśu(Tritavanēshu ?)

2 [Garga ?][t]r[i]ra(rā)tra 5 yajña(jñā) ishṭa(shṭā)[4] savvasta(savatsā) i(ī)vn vāgā(gāvō) dakshiṇya[5](ṇā) dātā(dattā) 90.[6] Vashṭaḥ(Vishṇuḥ) priyatāṁ dharmmō vardhdha[tāṁ*].

TRANSLATION.

The 15th day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) of Jyēshṭha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). Five (*Garga*) Trirātra sacrifices were performed by Bhaṭṭa.....in Trita forests (?). 90 cows, which were accompanied by (*their*) calves, were given as *dakshiṇā*.

May (*god*) Vishṇu be pleased! May Dharma increase!

No. 13.—GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, University of Madras.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on a grey marble slab set up behind the Travellers' Bungalow,[7] about two furlongs to the north of it, at **Gurzāla** in the Palnād taluk of the Guṇṭūr District. There are on the spot several similar slabs which are uninscribed and which must be the relics of some ancient structure that has now disappeared. An impression of the inscription was placed in my hands some time ago by Dr. M. Rama Rao, but I found subsequently from Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachariu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that he had secured a much better impression of the record, and it is from this impression which he has kindly placed at my disposal that I edit the record which is listed as No. 335 of the Epigraphical Collection of Madras in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epi.* for the year 1936-37, and discussed in paragraph 10 of Part II.

The slab containing the inscription measures 5′×19″ ;[8] in its centre is carved a pillar with apparently a bulbous base and a double bulbous capital ; the shaft of the pillar shows a slight tapering, being 3″ wide at the bottom, and less than 2½″ at the top, its height being about 2′. The capital comprises two oviform members, each 3″ high, the upper one being broader (5½″) than the lower (4½″) at its horizontal axis. This capital is surmounted by an abacus 3″ high above which stand three cones alongside of one another, looking like the battlement of a fortress. Our inscription comprises three lines, two incised to the proper right, and the third to the left of the carved pillar, all lines running from the capital of the pillar to its base.

[1] Edited from an ink-impression.

[2] Both below *ja* and *sha*, there appear to be some depressions, which appear like traces of subscript letters, now peeled off. They may however be also due to the stone not being well dressed.

[3] Faint traces of the subscript *ya* can be traced in the impression.

[4] The subscript *ṭa* is partly broken.

[5] The letter looks like *tri*, but it is read as *ṇya* on the analogy of the Badvā records. See introduction.

[6] After the numeral 90, there is a symbol here, similar to that occurring on the Badvā *yūpa* inscription A.

[7] It is understood that the slab has since been removed to the Taluk office compound, Gurzāla.

[8] This measurement is furnished by Dr. Rama Rao.

The **script** of the inscription is Brāhmī very similar to that of the well-known inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa edited in *Epigraphia Indica* some years ago by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and may be taken to belong to the third century A. D. The average height of the letters, if we neglect the flourishes, is about one inch. The fourth letter in l. 3 which I read as *ḷu* may be compared with the same letter in a somewhat later Western Chālukya inscription, *viz.*, the Bādāmi stone inscription of Maṅgaliśa.[1]

The three vertical strokes at the end of the last line seem to be an ornamental stop as in G-3 (above, Vol. XXI, plate opp. p. 62) and not a symbol for three which usually comprises similar horizontal strokes. The **language** of the record is Prākrit. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a field by a certain **Noduka-siri** to the **Bhagavān, the Lord of Halaṁpūra**, for securing longevity for the donor. The date of the record is given as the tenth day of the 8th fortnight of summer in the fourth regnal year of *Mahārāja* Siri-**Ruḷupurisadāta**, whose name shows that he is a hitherto unknown king of the **Ikshvāku** line, members of which have left many inscriptions in the neighbourhood from which our record comes. The method of dating adopted is common in Ikshvāku records.[2] The location of **Halaṁpūra** where the temple of the Bhagavān was located is somewhat difficult to determine. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1936-37, it is suggested that Halaṁpūra 'may be identified preferably with Allūru in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district which is not far removed from Gurzāla, though there are two villages of the name Alampuram, one in the Nizam's Dominions and the other in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district'. Ālampūr in the Nizam's Dominions seems best to satisfy the requirements of the case by its name and the known antiquity of its monuments. It is situated at the apex of the Raichur Doab on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, a little distance before its junction with the Kṛishṇā. In spite of its distance from the Palnāḍ region, this place must have been easily accessible by river, and it teems with antiquities, temples and other structures, some account of which will be found at pages 7-13 of the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions* for 1926-27.

Another place much nearer Gurzāla and about 20 miles east of it, though not so rich in antiquarian remains, that comes in for consideration here, is Nāgulavaram in the Palnāḍ taluk itself. The name has the same meaning as Halaṁpūra (plough-city), and Sewell noted an old Vishṇu temple and another temple of Śiva in the place and an illegible inscription in the latter. The place has yielded two inscriptions listed in the Madras Collection. It is possible that the Halaṁpūra-sāmin of our inscription is identical with the deity in one of these shrines.[3]

There is nothing in our inscription to indicate that the Bhagavān Halaṁpūra-sāmin to whom the field was given was the Lord Buddha; and it must be noted that our record differs in some respects from the generality of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in that it does not begin with the usual *Siddhaṁ namo Bhagavato* but simply *siddhaṁ*, and in that the purpose of the gift precedes the name of the donor. It seems possible that the endowment was not that of a Buddhist. But seeing that some at least of the temples of Ālaṁpūr show traces of having originally been Buddhist structures, perhaps converted later into Hindu temples, the other possibility cannot also altogether be ruled out at present, that is, if the identification of Halaṁpūra with Ālaṁpūr is accepted.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol X, pl. opposite p. 59, l. 4.

[2] See also *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 37.

[3] Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 61; Nos. 216 of 1927 and 306 of 1931 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; Survey map 56P/NW. (1"=2 miles).

GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.



J. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
M. No. 2075 E'48-295.

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.

1 Sidhaṁ ‖ Bhagavate Halaṁbipūra-sāmine apaṇo ayuvadhinikaṁ[1]

2 Noḍuka-siri khetaṁ saṁpada[ttāṁ][2] Mahārajasa

3 Siri-Ruḷupurisadātasa sa ta 4 gi 8 diva 10 |||

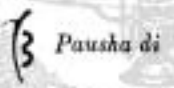
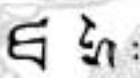
TRANSLATION.

Success ! To the Bhagavān, Lord of Halaṁbipūra, a field was given (*by*) Noḍuka-siri for the increase of his own life on the tenth day in the eighth fortnight of summer in the fourth (*regnal*) year of *Mahārāja* Siri-Ruḷupurisadāta.

No. 14.—DATE OF ASHRAFPUR PLATE.

By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph. D. (London).

A copper-plate inscription was discovered in 1884-1885 at the village Ashrafpur, in the Narayanganj Sub-Division, Dacca District, Bengal. Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar published this inscription with a facsimile in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, No. VI.

The inscription is dated *Samvat*  *Pausha di*  ; Mr. Laskar reads the date as Samvat 10 3 (=13) Pausha 20 5 (=25). Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3] agrees with Mr. Laskar in thinking that there are two symbols expressing the year-number, and two symbols expressing the day of the month. But according to him the first symbol of the year-number is 7, and the second one represents 3 or 9. He thus reads the year-number as 73 or 79, which he refers to the Harsha Era. The day of the month according to him is 20 8 (=28). If Dr. Majumdar's reading is accepted it will follow that in the same inscription both the figure-numerals and letter-numerals have been used side by side. Dr. Basak[4] states that "the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one".

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[5] discusses this inscription under No. 1394 in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. He accepts with a query mark Dr. Majumdar's reading of the year-number as 73, and refers it to the Harsha Era.[6] In the foot-note he, however, remarks that "it has

[1] [Reading seems to be *ayuvadhanike*, — N. L. R.]

[2] Cancel the length of the final vowel and read : *saṁpadattaṁ*.

[3] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 375 ff.

[4] *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 203.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 190-191.

[6] Dr. Bhandarkar does not correctly represent Dr. Majumdar's view when he says that Dr. Majumdar reads the year-number of the inscription as 70 3 or 70 9. It has already been pointed out that Dr. Majumdar takes the first symbol as 7, and the second one as 3 or 9, which according to him makes 73 or 79.

perhaps to be read as 60 3". According to him the day of the month is to be read as 20 5, and not as 20 8, as has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

On close examination I find that the year-number is expressed by only one symbol in the inscription. This is clearly a symbol for 7.

A comparison of this symbol with the symbol for 7, mentioned in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 1,[1] and in the Mallasārul copper-plate[2] of Gōpachandra, will convince one of the correctness of my reading.

Thus the date of the Ashrafpur copper-plate should be read neither as 73 nor as 63 but as 7, which is obviously the regnal year of the king Dēvakhaḍga, during whose reign the inscription was issued.

No. 15.—PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. Ghosh, M. A., Patna.

Of the five inscriptions edited here, the principal one is found on the top of the southern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* attached to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at **Bhuvaneswar**, District Puri. It has been noticed in some official publications,[3] but so far as I am aware, the text has never been published before.

The **inscription** occupies an area of 22"×6" and runs to three lines. The **letters** are rather carelessly engraved, many of them being ill-formed; their size ranges from $1\frac{3}{4}$" to $\frac{3}{4}$". The **language** is Sanskrit, but there are some **grammatical** mistakes; thus, in the first sentence the nominative has been given a passive form, while the verb is in the active voice. Some grammatical error also makes the last three letters of the second line unintelligible. Rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *saṁvēdya-āḍhakaṁ* in line 2. A serious **orthographical** mistake occurs at the beginning of the third line, where *apy=āḍhika* appears as *apyi=āḍhika*. In the same line *kaśchin=na* is spelt as *kaśchiṁ na*.

The **script** belongs to about the **first half of the ninth century A. D.**, being somewhat later than the local inscriptions of the Bhaumas[4]; note particularly the somewhat archaic form of the palatal sibilant in the latter set. The temple of Paraśurāmēśvara has, on architectural and other considerations, been regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the temples of Bhuvaneswar.[5] The present inscription, along with those noticed below, sets the lower limit of the date of the construction of the temple.

The **object** of the inscription is to record some daily offering in favour of **Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭaka**, by which word is probably meant the god installed in the temple, as well as of those

[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 155.

[3] *List of Ancient Monuments in the Orissa Division*, Government of Bengal, 1896, p. 64; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 242, where its contents have been wrongly noticed.

[4] Compare, for example, the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara, above, Vol. XIX, p. 263.

[5] The date of its construction ranges, according to different scholars, from the fifth or sixth century to the eighth century (M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 241).

1



2

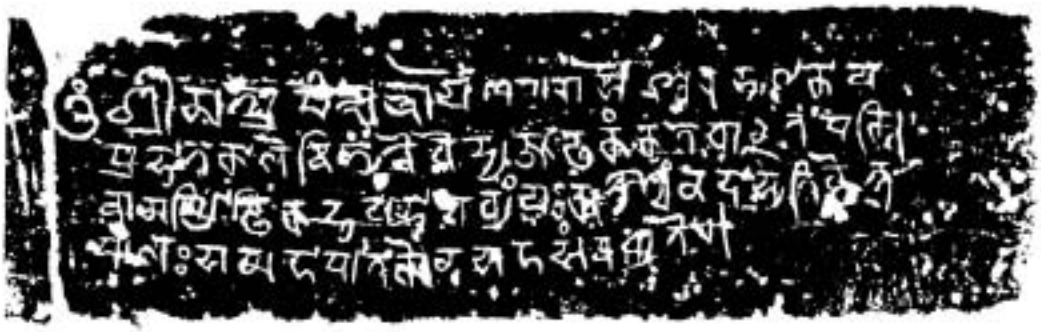


3



4





who were to cook (?) the offering to the god. It should be noted in this connexion that the name of the god (and consequently of the temple) is given here as *Pārāśēśvara* ; if we are justified in amending the word, we may regard *Parēśēśvara* or perhaps *Parāśarēśvara* as the old name of the temple ; surely the correction to *Paraśurāmēśvara*, its present name, would be too daring.

On the eastern wall of the temple there are **a few more short inscriptions** in nail-headed characters of about **the eighth century A. D.** Four of them, reproduced here, read : (1) *Kāṭhadaridrasya* (Sanskrit *Kāṣṭhadaridrasya* ?) ; (2) *Prawōḍakāyaṁ*, followed by a symbol, probably a punctuation mark ; (3)—*prāṇa* ; and (4) *śri-Praśūtarapr*[*ā*]*ya*.[1]

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ śrīmat-**Prapittrāchāryēṇa**[2] **Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭakāya**

2 prabhāta-kālē nityaṁ naivēdya-āḍhakaṁ kṛitavān [|*] taṁ pakvi-[3]

3 nām=apyi(py)-āḍhika-dvayaṁ dātavyaṁ [|*] yaḥ [kaś]ch[i]th(n=) na dāsyati kshē(?)ttra-

4 pālaḥ sa mahā-pātakēna saha saṁvadhyatē eba[4]|

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ. (*Arrangement*) has been done by the illustrious **Prapittrāchārya** for the offering of an *āḍhaka*[5] (*of grain*) for the Lord **Pārāsēśvara** every morning. Also to the cooks (?) of that (*grain*) two *āḍhikas* are to be given. The keeper of the field (?) who will not give (*them*) (*will be invested*) with great sin and will be bound (or killed).[6]

No. 16.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAITUGI, SAKA 1188.

By H. D. Sankalia, M.A., Ll. B., Ph. D. (Lond.), Poona, and
S. C. Upadhyaya, M. A., Ll. B., Bombay.

This inscription, which is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is now published with the courtesy of (now) the ex-Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, and the Trustees. It is not known whence it came, but, as will be shown below, it must be from the vicinity of Bombay.

The **record** is inscribed on a rectangular stone, 3'5" × 1'1½". The inscribed portion, which contains 20 lines, covers a space of 1'8½" × 1'1". It is not in a good state of preservation. Several letters are broken and the last five lines cannot be completely deciphered. The average **size of letters** is ¼". Below the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle, 11" × 10", which contains an ass-sculpture, usual in inscriptions of this period from Kōṅkaṇ.[7] Right on the top, the stone is deeply cut into a rectangle, 6" × 13½" × 1½", which contains a representation of the Sun on the right and the Moon on the left and a double *Kalaśa* in between.

[1] Nos. (3) and (4) are probably identical. The letters of the last one are ornamentally treated.

[2] The correction to *Paṇḍitrāchārya* or *Prawittrāchārya* may be suggested.

[3] I am not sure of the correct reading of this ill-formed letter and conjecturally read it as *śri*, regarding the word *pakvis* to be an incorrect derivative of the root *pach*. *Taṁ* probably stands for *tat*. [The intended reading may be *tapasvinām* .—Ed.]

[4] [What has been read as *cha* appears to me to be only a part of the mark of punctuation.—B. C. C.]

[5] *Āḍhaka* is a measure of grain ; the word *āḍhika* occurring in the next line is obviously a smaller measure.

[6] [The word *saṁvadhyatē* is evidently meant for *saṁbadhyatē*, an equivalent of *saṁyujyatē*. According to my reading, the meaning would simply be ' is united with great sin '.—B. C. C.]

[7] *Cf.* above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

The inscription is in prose and the **language** Sanskrit and perhaps old Marāṭhī in the latter part (ll. 15-20). As regards the **script** and **orthography** there is nothing new to note.[1] It is **dated** in **Śaka 1188 Kshaya Saṁvatsara, Māgha Vadi 15, Wednesday**. This would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 26th January A. D. 1266,[2] provided the reading of the date is correct.[3]

The main **object** of the inscription seems to be to **record** the gift of land (unfortunately the details of this cannot be deciphered) to a **Brāhmaṇa Vaidēva**, a *Jyōtishī* (*i.e.*, an astronomer or astrologer) in the reign of **Jaitugi**, who is called *Mahārājādhirāja, Rāyapitāmaha, Kōṅkaṇachakravartin*. The **ministers** of the king were the *Mahāmātya* **Śrī-Udaiprabhu**, *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahī* **Māināyaka**, *Śrīkaraṇī* **Chanda(?)prabhu**,[4] and others (whose names cannot be clearly read).

In the absence of the dynastic title it is difficult to identify the king. The tenor of the inscription—*birudas* of the king, names of ministers—would incline one to place the king either among the princes of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kōṅkaṇ or of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri. The grounds for referring the king to the former dynasty are that :—

(1) The king bears the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravarti* which was usually borne by the Śilāhāra kings.[5]

(2) The names of the ministers—*Mahāsāṁdhivigrahī* Māināyaka and *Śrīkaraṇī* Chandaprabhu are found among the ministers of the last known Śilāhāra ruler Sōmēśvaradēva ;[6] hence probably the ministers referred to in the inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva and our inscription are identical.

However, there are certain objections against associating Jaitugi of the inscription with the Śilāhāra dynasty. They are :—

(1) Among the Śilāhāras no king of this name is known so far, either from inscriptions or otherwise.

(2) Till now it is supposed, on the authority of Hēmādri[7] (whose account was supported by the absence of epigraphic or other evidence), that Sōmēśvaradēva is the last Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Kōṅkaṇ, for the dynasty was swept out of existence when he was defeated and killed and Kōṅkaṇ annexed by Mahādēva, the Yādava ruler of Dēvagiri.

If, in spite of these objections, Jaitugi is to be considered a Śilāhāra king, then we have to suppose that he was either a son or a descendant of Sōmēśvaradēva, who regained Koṅkaṇ for a brief period,[8] during the closing years of Mahādēva's regime (which may have been a disturbing period for the Yādava empire, for immediately after Mahādēva, before the rightful heir Rāmachandra could succeed him, Āmaṇa occupied the throne for a year or so).[9]

[1] For the features already noted *cf.* the writers' comments above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

[2] S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

[3] *Kshaya* seems to be the most likely name of the *saṁvatsara*, as the first letter looks like *kha*, the second is illegible, the rest are undoubtedly *saṁva*, though they cannot be clearly read. For the reading of the date and some other suggestions I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. (H. D. S.)

[4] [See n. 7 p. 129.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 279-280.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Rājaprašasti*, I, *verse*, 49 ; II, *verses*, 17-18 in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273 and p. 275 respectively.

[8] For soon after this we have Yādava records mentioning Kṛishṇadēva and Jāidēva as governors of Kōṅkaṇ. See *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178 and above, Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

[9] *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247 citing *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

However, if the above be accepted, then we will have an hitherto unknown Śilāhāra king continuing the dynasty after Sōmēśvaradēva and in a sense contradicting the account of Hēmādri cited above.

The argument in favour of identifying Jaitugi with one of the kings of the same name of the Yādava dynasty would be, besides the tenor of the inscription, that the name exactly tallies with that of the Yādava ruler.

But no king of this name lived in the period to which the inscription refers itself.[1] Secondly no Yādava ruler is known to have used the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravarti*, though to judge from the victories of Jaitugi I, Siṁhaṇa and Rāmachandradēva, Kōṅkaṇ must have formed a part of the Yādava empire.[2]

Whatever be the dynasty to which Jaitugi of the inscription belonged, the inscription is written after the style of the inscriptions of this period, and must have been issued from a place somewhere in Kōṅkaṇ. The fact, moreover, that it was issued to record a gift to an astrologer affords further evidence of the patronage of such people in Kōṅkaṇ at that time.[3]

Text.

1 ॥ श्री स्वस्ति स(श्र)कु(क)संवत् ११८८ क्षय[4]संव-

2 च्छरे माघवदि १५[5] बुधे अद्ये — — — म[म]-

3 त्तराजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिरा-

4 ज रायपितामह[6] कोंकणचक्रवर्ति श्री-

5 जैतुगिदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये

6 महामात्य श्रीउदैप्रभु° महासां[धि*]वियहो

7 माइनायक° श्रीकरणी चन्द[7]प्रभु जस-

8 जिनायक° नागसु[र] आख्यान अधिष्ठा[न*]

9 — [8]महावा[9]दि प्रतिपाठी । — — — — — —[10]

[1] Unless the reading of the date is doubted. For if the date is read as Śaka 1120, Māgha Vadi 9 (as done previously by us and which corresponds regularly to 24th January A. D. 1207) then the inscription would fall in the reign of Jaitugi I, who is known from his three inscriptions (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-373 and references cited there) to have made extensive conquests. Siṁhaṇa's son Jaitugi II is out of question for he is believed to have predeceased Siṁhaṇa.

[2] The other king of this name is found among the Paramāras of Mālwā, but his dates are V. S. 1292 and 1300 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. XXIII, Appendix, p. 397 and f. n. 14) thus falling outside the two probable readings of the date of the record.

[3] Pātnā Inscription of Siṁhaṇa, above Vol. I, p. 343, verse 18.

[4] This letter is defaced, cf. note 3, p. 128 above.

[5] Doubtful.

[6] This title is very common. For references see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 150 and 230.

[7] Reading doubtful. [The reading appears to be *Dāda*°.—N. L. R.]

[8] Illegible.

[9] May be *pa*.

[10] Letters illegible.

10 — — यै[1] — — राज्ये श्रीन्नेपर[2] ग्रामांतर — —

11 नदि[3] चेचे[3] — — — —

12 पक -- ।[4] नम —[4] आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिपर्वत

13 वदेव ज्योतिषीनाञ्चे ब्राह्मण[य][5]

14 —[6] मोदकपूर्वकं प्रदत्तां । — — — — — —[7]

15 — — श्री — उत्तरे — — — — — — वन्दी

16 — — — — — परित[7] समीमापर्यंत

17 — क — — म — — — त — — — — —[7]

18 — — — — — [मोदकपू]र्व्वक [प्रदत्ता]

19 — — — — — — — — — —[8]

20 — — — — — — — — — —[8]

No. 17.—BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA] YEAR 474.

By S. N. Chakravarti, M.A., Bombay.

The stone bearing the subjoined inscription,[9] which is edited here for the first time, was discovered at **Bihar Kotra** in the Rajgadh State, Malwa, and is now exhibited in the Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

The document consists of six lines of writing engraved on a stone slab measuring 1' 4" × 1' 2" × 7" and is well preserved. The **characters** belong to the Central Indian variety of the Southern alphabet which in its simplest form closely agrees with the Western variety of the same alphabet.[10] The following palæographical peculiarities may be noticed. The most important common characteristics of the Southern alphabet are found in the open top of the letters *gh*, *p*, *sh*, and *s* and also in the retention of the tripartite *y* and of the long stroke on the right of *l*. The letter *m* does not show the ancient form. It has a straight base-stroke in all cases, which indicates the influence of the Northern alphabet.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The **orthography** suggests the following remarks. A consonant is doubled before and after *r* as in *puttrēya* (l. 4), *chāturddīśam* and *sarvva* (l. 5). The final *m* of a word remains unchanged and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in *siddham* (l. 1) and *dvitīyāgūm* (l. 3).

[1] The reading may be *vishaye*.

[2] [Reading may be *śrī-Jhēpa*.—N. L. R.]

[3] Reading doubtful.

[4] Letters illegible.

[5] This letter is defaced.

[6] Illegible.

[7] Though some letters are legible, sense cannot be made out.

[8] The whole line is illegible.

[9] It was noticed by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the *Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum* for the year 1938-39, p. 12 and pl. facing p. 12. [This inscription has been noticed by me in *An. Rep. A. S. R.* 1938-39 where I have discussed in detail the question of Naravarman's successors including Vishnuvardhana.—Ed.]

[10] Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, Eng. ed., pp. 61-2.

BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA] YEAR 474.



The inscription **records** the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *bhikshusaṅgha* of the four quarters for the quenching of thirst of all beings. The gift was made by one **Vīrasēna**, son of Bhaṭṭimahara, on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Mahārāja **Naravarman, when four hundred and seventy-four years had elapsed**, *i.e.*, in A. D. 417-18.

Naravarman is already known to us from the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 461, in which he is mentioned as the son of Siṁhavarman and the grandson of Jayavarman.[1] He is mentioned also in the Gangdhar inscription[2] of his son Viśvavarman of the Mālava year 480. Again, Viśvavarman is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription[3] of his son Bandhuvarman, who was a contemporary and also the feudatory of the Emperor Kumāragupta I. The inscription of Bandhuvarman states that while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura (Mandasor), the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun in the Mālava year 493 and that the same guild restored part of the temple, which fell into disrepair under other kings, in the Mālava year 529. The entire inscription was actually composed and engraved at the latter date. But it does not give us any information about the successors of Bandhuvarman.[4] Here, the present record comes to our help. Naravarman is described as '*aulikara*'. Now, in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 589, the family of Yaśōdharman or Vishṇuvardhana is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara-lāñchhana*.[5] Evidently, Naravarman of our record and Yaśōdharman belonged to the same family. Thus Yaśōdharman, whose arms penetrated as far as the Himalayas, who was lord of the countries which were not possessed even by the Guptas or the Hūṇas, and to whose feet obeisance was made even by the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula, can no longer be regarded as a military adventurer of the type of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (first quarter of the seventh century) and Yaśōvarman of Kanauj (first half of the eighth century). For, from the present record we know at least one of his predecessors.

TEXT.[6]

1 [Si*]ddham[7][*] Śrīr[8]-mmahārāja-**Narvarmmaṇaḥ** aulikarasya[9]

2 rājya[10]-saṁvatsarē **chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatu[ḥ*]-**

[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 315. [2] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 18.

[4] [Prabhākara of the Mandasor inscription of V. 524 was perhaps the successor, if not the son, of Bandhuvarman.—Ed.]

[5] A satisfactory explanation of the word *aulikara* has not yet been obtained. But *lāñchhana* "is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners." Thus, the Kadambas of Banavāsi had the *śārdūla-chatushpadī-dhvaja* or *vānara-mahādhvaja*, but the *simha-lāñchhana* on the seals of their grants and on their coins. So also the Chālukyas had the *varāha-lāñchhana*. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4. [*Aulikara* may be synonymous with *Limahara*.—Ed.]

[6] From the original stone.

[7] The word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

[8] The word *śrī*, forming the first part of a compound word, is used with a *vibhakti*. As a separate word it is used in the third case-ending, meaning *saha* or *yukta*. But in the present inscription it is used in the first case-ending. [There are other instances of this usage: *e.g.*, *śrīr=amahārāj-Ōmavarmmā* in the Dhavalapēṭā copper-plates of Umavarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 144).—Ed.]

[9] The form of the initial *au* in the present record differs from that occurring in the same word *aulikara* (l. 5) in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman of the Mālava year 589. In the latter inscription the stroke indicating the length of *au* is attached to the upper part of the letter; in the former the lower part of the letter curves to the left and not to the right as in the Mandasor inscription, which expresses the length of the vowel. [The letter looks more like *ō* than *au*.—Ed.]

[10] There is a vertical stroke before the word *rājya*, which apparently forms part of a letter. What looks like an *i*-*mātrā* in *rājya* is merely a scratch.

3 [sa*] ptatēshu[1] Śrāvaṇa-śukla-dvitīyāyām Bhaṭṭimaha-
4 ra-sat-puttrēṇa Vīrasēnēn-āyam-udapānaḥ khāni-
5 taś-chāturddiśaṁ bhikshu-saṅgham-uddiśya sarvva-satvānāṁ
6 tṛishṇā-kshayāy-āstu[2] [|*]

No. 18.—DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN.

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Calcutta.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were turned up by a farmer while digging his land in the village of **Dhavalapēṭa**, situated about twelve miles from Chicacole in the Vizagapatam District of Madras. The last plate of the set was melted and destroyed by the cultivator under the impression that it was made of gold. Fortunately, however, the remaining two plates of the set ultimately found their way into the hands of Mr. Manda Narasimham, in whose possession they lie at present. The plates were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38[3] and the inscription was published for the first time by the present owner of the plates, Mr. Narasimham[4]. I now re-edit the record from a set of excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **two plates** of copper measuring $6\frac{3}{4}''$ by $2\frac{3}{8}''$ and having their edges plain. The plates slide on, through a hole at the proper right margin of each of them, to a copper-ring the ends of which are soldered on to an elliptical **seal**, $3\frac{1}{2}''$ by $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in size. In the depression of the seal there is inscribed in relief a four-line **legend** in the same characters as those of the plates. The inscription on the seal is, however, in a very imperfect state of preservation. It is just possible that it ends, as in the case of the seal of the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant[5], with *Mahārāj-Ōmavarmmasya*. The inscription itself, which is in an excellent state of preservation, runs into twelve lines with four lines given to each of the three plates[6]. The first plate, which has been slightly damaged, is inscribed on its inner side only; while the second one contains writing on both of its faces.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā plates of Umavarman[7] and the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman[8]. Some of their leading features are the following: (1) the initial *a* occurs once in *asty-* (l. 4) and *ā* in *ā-sahasrāṁśu-* (l. 6) and (2) the final forms of *m* and *t*, which are engraved in smaller characters, are found in *karttavyam* (l. 9) and *Suvagarāt* (l. 1) respectively. The letter *chha* occurs in *Chhandōga* (l. 5).

In respect of **orthography**, the following points deserve notice. (1) A consonant has been invariably doubled after *r* and only once before it (*Cf. kkrama*, l. 11). (2) Both *b* and *v* have been indicated by separate signs. The rules of *sandhi* have been faithfully adhered to.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole of the extant portion of the record is in prose. The **inscription is incomplete**, owing to the fact that the last plate of the set had been foolishly destroyed.

[1] Read *su-chatuḥ-saptatishu*.

[2] After *āstu* there are faint traces of two slanting strokes. These may be scratches rather than the mark of *pūrvavirāma*, i.e. full-stop.

[3] C. P. No. 22. [4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143-44 and plates. [5] Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

[6] The complete inscription must have run into 16 lines at least, granting another four lines in addition for the missing plate.

[7] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3 and plates.

The engraver has done his work neatly. He has, however, left a few evidences of occasional remissness on his part as will be evident from two or three minor corrections in the text of the inscription (*Cf.* lines 4 and 6) which he inserted subsequently.

The **inscription** is one of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. It was issued from Sunagara. It records the gift of the village of Kuttura including the road (passing through it). The village was situated in the Mahēndra *bhōga*. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Khallasvāmin, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*. The gift village was constituted into a free-hold *agrahāra*. After announcing the nature of the gift, the record urges the householders of the village to honour the same. The names of the writer and the engraver of the inscription and, what would have been of outstanding importance to us, the date, have not been preserved owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The chief interest of the record under discussion naturally centres round the personality of its donor. As many as three separate copper-plate inscriptions (including the present one) have come to light up till now, with their provenances remarkably restricted in area. Each of these inscriptions speaks of a king called Umavarman. For convenience' sake, I append the relevant data in tabular form as follows :—

Name of Inscription.	Place of Origin.	Distinctive titles of Donor-King.	Year.	Scribe.
1. Tēkkali[1] (Ganjām District) .	Vardhamānapura	*Mahārāja* . .	9	Kēśavadēva, a resident of Pishṭapura.
2. Bṛihatprōshṭhī[2] (Vizagapatam District).	Simhapura[3] .	*Mahārāja, Kaliṅgādhipati.*	30	Mātṛivara[4] (name restored).
3. Dhavalapēṭa (Vizagapatam District).	Sunagara . .	*Mahārāja* . .	not preserved.	not preserved.

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-64. Also noticed in the *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35 (C. P. No. 13). It is noteworthy that although the plates came from the Ganjām District, the place from which they were issued, viz., Vardhamānapura, has been identified (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.*, p. 52) with Vaḍama situated in the Palkonda *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam District. Further the scribe of this record professes to have been a resident of Pishṭapura, identified with modern Pīṭhāpuram in the same district.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6.

[3] Dr. E. Hultzsch's reading of this word as *Sīhapura* (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 1) does not appear to be borne out by the facsimile of the inscription. The correct reading, I believe, is, as elsewhere, *Sīkhapura*. The medial *i* sign of *Si* with an *anusvāra* enclosed in its top loop, is clearly visible in the facsimile. *Cf.* in this connection the word *Sīkhāpura* in the Kīmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 144 line 1).

[4] The Tiritthāṇa Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy* for 1934-35, C. P. No. 12), which is being edited by me for publication in the present journal, has for its scribe a person called *Dīkshāpatalikādhikṛita* Rudradatta, son of Mātṛivara. The damaged condition of the Bṛihatprōshṭhī grant prevented Dr. E. Hultzsch from correctly deciphering (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 16) the name of the writer of the same. This name has now been happily restored by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.* for 1934-35, p. 51 and *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1934-35, p. 64) as *Mātṛivara*, who has further been identified with his namesake mentioned in the Tiritthāṇa grant as being the father of its writer, Rudradatta. Thus, the Bṛihatprōshṭhī and the Tiritthāṇa grants, between themselves, reveal the existence of a family of scribes who plied their trade in two royal courts of ancient Kaliṅga. The pedigree of this family, or rather a part of it as far as known, may be set forth as follows :—

Haridatta
|
Mātṛivara
|
Rudradatta

Scholars have widely differed on the question of the identity of the Umavarman of the records mentioned above. Some have sought to differentiate the donor of the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant from that of the other two; while others are less sure on the matter.

To be sure, the problem, though admittedly of a ticklish nature, does not seem entirely beyond the range of a solution.

Of one thing we may at once regard ourselves as fairly sure: *viz.*, a decided affinity between the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant and the record under discussion. Both of them come from the Vizagapatam District of Madras. Of more practical importance for our present purposes is the palæography of the inscriptions concerned. They show the same thick-set ductus of writing; the characters have in both cases a tendency to assume a squat and rounded shape. The phraseology, especially in the formal parts of the two records, is almost identical in both. Lastly, the seals of the two grants present the same features.

In short, the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā and the Dhavalapēṭa records betray a striking homogeneity and family-likeness which eliminate the supposition of some mere chance or coincidence: a fact which justifies the assumption that the two records may have been drafted under the auspices of an identical ruler, and if not by an identical hand, at least by persons not far removed from each other in point of time. To be more precise, it brings the Dhavalapēṭa grant very near to the date (Year 30) given in the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant. In fact, I believe that the **Umavarman of the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant is** to be regarded as **identical with his namesake of the record under discussion.**

There is also, I think, reason to believe that the Dhavalapēṭa plates were issued immediately before the Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant: for, in the latter record Umavarman is made to assume the ambitious (though, at this period, all too common) title of '*Kaliṅgādhipati*', which is absent in the Dhavalapēṭa plates. The Bṛihatpṛōshṭhā grant, therefore, seems to have been issued on the occasion of some notable military success won by Umavarman at the expense of some local ruler.

I am at present not in a position to identify the **localities** mentioned in the inscription.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be referred to the **first half of the 5th century A. D.** As such, it falls into line with such other early records from Kaliṅga as the Kūmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman[1], Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman[2], *etc.*

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 [4]Ōṁ Svasti [||*] **Sunagarāt** paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā-

2 nudhyātaḥ śrīr-mmahārāj-**Ōmavarmmā Mahēndra-bhōgē Kuttu-**

3 **ra-grāmē** sarvva-samanvāgatān-kuṭumbinas-samājñāpa-

4 [ya]ti [|*] asty-ēsha grāmō-smābhir-ātmana[5][ḥ*] puṇy-āyu[r*]-[6] yaśō-bhivṛiddha-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plates.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff.

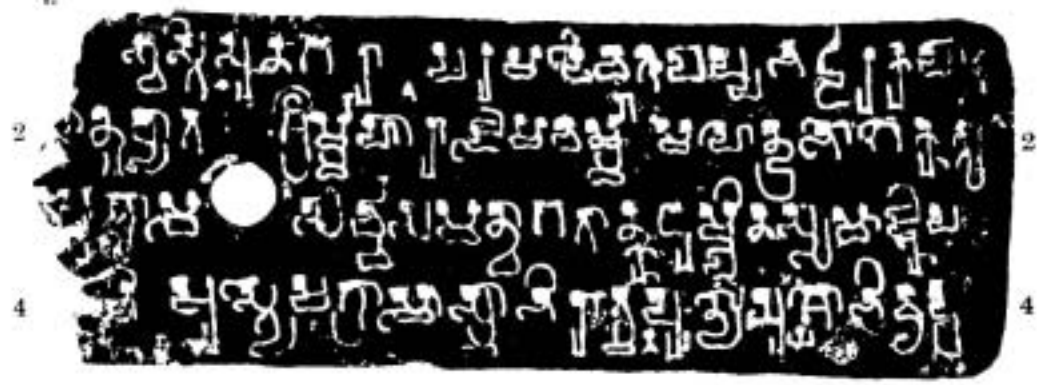
[3] From ink-impressions.

[4] The ornamental symbol representing *Ōṁ* has been engraved at the beginning of line 2.

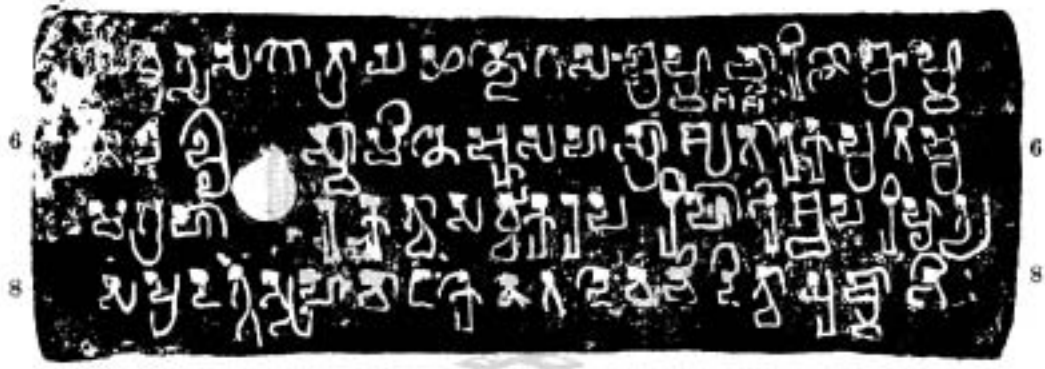
[5] The letter *ma* had been originally passed over by the engraver and was subsequently inserted at the foot of the line.

[6] The letter *yu* of *yaśō-* has been engraved below the line, the correction being indicated by a little × mark at the top.

i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



Second Plate; First Side.

5 yē Vatsa-sagōtrāya Chhandōga-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhma-
6 ṇa-Khallasvāminē ā-sahasrāṇśu-śaśi[1]-tāraka-pratishṭha-
7 m agrahāra[m] kṛitvā sarvva-kara-parihārañ-cha parihṛitya
8 sampradattas-saha vāṭakēna[|*] tad-ēvaṁ viditvā yushmābhiḥ

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 pūrvv-ōchita-maryyādā(da)y-ōpasthānaṁ karttavyaṁ[|*] yach-ch-ātra
10 kiṁchid-utpadyatē mēya-hiraṇy-ādi tat-sarvvam-u-
11 panēyaṁ[|*] bhavishyataś-cha rājñō vijñāpayati[|*] dharmma-kkrama-
12 [vikra]māṇām anyatama-yōgūd-avāpya mahīm-anuśāsatā-[2]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) Ōṁ Hail! From **Sunagara**, the illustrious king (*Mahārāja*) **Umavarman**, who is a devout worshipper of the gods and devoted to the feet of (*his*) father, commands all the householders *en masse* at the Village of **Kuttura** (*which is situated*) in the Mahēndra-*bhōga* (*as follows*):

(Ll. 4-8) "We have granted this village including the road[3] (*passing through* it), for the increase of (*Our*) own religious merit, life and fame, to the Brāhmaṇa, Khallasvāmin, who belongs to the Vatsa *gōtra* and who is a religious student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*, after making it an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, and exempting it from the liability of paying all taxes.

(Ll. 8-11) "Having known this, you should regard (*this gift*) with the honour as obtaining heretofore; you should also surrender (*to the donee*) whatever grows on this (*soil*) (*in the shape of*) grain (*mēya*), gold, *etc.*"

(Ll. 11-12) The King further exhorts the future rulers (*as follows*): "Having obtained possession of the earth either by right, or by succession, or by valour and ruling (*it*).....

No. 19.—SPURIOUSNESS OF THE NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

By Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University.

There is a controversy over the character of the Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta dated in the year 5. In *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1927-28, p. 138, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, "As in the latter document (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) so in the one under notice (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate), the epithets of Samudragupta from *Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ* (line 1) to *Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya* (line 4) are given in the genitive case, but *Kumāradēvyām-utpannaḥ Paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* in the nominative case. Obviously, therefore, this new plate must also be treated as spurious". Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, points out that "one ungrammatical clause, which is common to both, is not enough to stamp either as spurious. On the other hand, the alphabet of this Plate (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate) is really of the time of Samudragupta, though

[1] This word, which the scribe forgot to engrave, has been inserted at the top of the line.

[2] Following the text of the Bṛihatpṛēshṭhā grant, one might restore the rest of this sentence as =anuśāsatōr=pranṛitakam=idam=dānaṁ sad-dharmmam=anupalyadbhir=asmad=grahārō=nupālyaḥ[|*].

[3] The other alternative meanings of this word *vāṭaka* such as 'garden', 'orchard', *etc.*, do not seem to be applicable here.

that of No. 1540 (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) is of the 8th century"[1]. Thus while Dr. Sastri declares the record to be spurious, Dr. Bhandarkar admits the possibility of its genuineness. Mr. A. Ghosh, who has recently edited[2] the Nālandā plate, is, "on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present Plate is not above suspicion"[3]. Mr. Ghosh rightly points out[4] that the authenticity of the Nālandā record would indicate an abnormally long period for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Further, he points out[5] the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* which is *abundant* in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates as a "feature, remarkable for the Gupta period". He, however, does not lay much emphasis on this point. Such use is not found in the genuine records of the early Gupta kings[6]. This characteristic, therefore, appears to suggest that the record is a late forgery.

Samudragupta's epithet *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ* is, again, very suspicious. It is only used in the records of his successors and is conspicuous by its absence from the elaborate description of his achievements in the Allahābād pillar inscription. It is indeed highly improbable that Samudragupta performed the horse-sacrifice before the fifth year of his reign or of the Gupta era.

The most important point in this connection is, in my opinion, the title *Paramabhāgavata* applied to the name of Samudragupta in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates. That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved beyond doubt by the striking facts that he is nowhere given that title and that several records of the later members of his family mention the names of Samudragupta and his predecessors without that title, but, at the same time, apply it to the names of all his successors. The Gupta genealogy given in the Bhitarī pillar inscription[7] of Skandagupta, may be cited as an example.

That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved not only by the inscriptions, but also by the evidence of coins. The title is found with the names of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta on a number of their coin-types, but not with the name of Samudragupta on any of his numerous types[8].

The above facts prove that as Chandragupta I was the first *Mahārājādhirāja*, so was Chandragupta II the first *Paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta emperors. There is reason to believe that the latter king was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata religion and of such titles as *Paramabhāgavata* from the 4th-5th century A. D. Samudragupta might have been a Vaishṇava[9], but he was evidently not a *Bhāgavata*, *i.e.*, follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaishṇavism.

There is thus hardly any doubt that the epithets of Samudragupta in the Nālandā Plate were copied from the records of his successors. The Nālandā Plate is therefore forged and is certainly later than "the time of Samudragupta".

[1] *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2075, n. 1. Dr. Bhandarkar lays great stress on the early script used in the Nālandā Plate. It is, however, always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 50 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 51. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 52. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[6] There is not a single instance of the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* in any of the genuine records of the Gupta kings edited by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. The earliest use noticed there is in the Khōh grant of Hastin dated in the Gupta year 156 (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

[7] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 52 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225, n.

[8] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 161—62.

[9] The Garuḍa emblem on his coins may suggest that his religion was Vaishṇavism. But this is not beyond doubt. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman was a *Paramamāhēśvara*, but Nandivarman II a *Paramabhāgavata*. They, however, not only used the same Śaivite emblem on their seals, but also advocated their devotion to Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas (Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 84). Such emblems appear to have been connected with the faith of the founder of a particular royal line.

No. 20.—BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

By Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A. and D. B. Mahajan, B.A.

These plates were discovered by Pandit Vasudev Śāstrī Dhanagare at **Bāsim**, the headquarters of the Bāsim *tālukā* of the Akolī District in Berār. They were brought to the notice of scholars at the second session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in December 1939 when Mr. Y. K. Deshpande read an article on them contributed by him jointly with Mr. D. B. Mahajan, B.A., Superintendent of Land Records, Akolā. The article is expected to be published soon in the *Proceedings* of the Congress[1]. We re-edit the inscription here with the consent of Pandit Dhanagare and Mr. Y. K. Deshpande.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 6·1″ broad and 3·4″ high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1·2″ from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole ·25″ in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal.[2] The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tolas*. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing which are equally distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the South-Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II. As in the latter, the medial *au* is bipartite, see *-pautrasya*, l. 3; *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *likhitam*, l. 29 and *rakkhāpedha*, l. 25, but not in *khānaka*, l. 20 and *rakkhadha*, l. 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same looped form, see *-vvachanāt*, l. 5 and *hēmantā*, l. 28; in *anumaṇṇati*, l. 26, on the other hand, *n* appears without a loop exactly like *t*. It is again noteworthy that the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, see *a-hiraṇṇa-dhāṇṇa* l. 20, while in the grants[3] of Pravarasēna II, the Tāḷagunda inscription[4] of Kākusthavarman and other records of the period, the subscript *ṇ* has generally the same form as the deutal *n*. Numerical symbols for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text and those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these, the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy; for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual,[5] but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka*. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head, see *-vvachanāt*, l. 5. Finally a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation which is redundant in most cases. The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prākrit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1–5 is in Sanskrit; the formal portion which follows is in Prākrit, but like the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit.[6] It is noteworthy that as in the early Prākrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and

[1] The article has been published since this was sent to the press. See *Proceedings* of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 449 ff. and plates.

[2] All the complete grants of Pravarasēna II, which have been published so far, have a round seal with a metrical legend, but without any device, see, *e.g.*, the seal of the Tirōḍi plates, above, Vol. XXII, plate facing p. 173.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *suvarṇa* in l. 45 of the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 25 and n. 2.

[5] See Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX.

[6] In the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.) the expression is *Svasti pō-ārōḷēnapa-lōkaka-rāchaka-śrīvijaya iti*, while in the present grant it is *Siddhir-astu*.

Bṛihatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākāṭakas which is usually given as Vishṇuvṛiddha, appears here in the form Vṛishṇivṛiddha. The former is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works[1] on *gōtras* and *pravaras*. The Prākrit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for, this is one of the few copper-plate grants from South India which contain a detailed portion in Prākrit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, for instance, the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-śānti-vāchanē*, ll. 8-9, *sa-mañcha-mahāʼaraṇa*, l. 24 and *a-damgamāṇaṁ*,[2] l. 25, which are inserted in the midst of Prākrit sentences. As shown below, the present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare, see, *e.g.*, *chāturvvejja-ggāma-majjātā*, l. 19, *a-puppha-khkhira-ggahaṇa*, l. 21, *Vidhijjesi*, l. 13, *Sivajjesi*, l. 16, etc. and contrast them with *Revatijevi*, l. 18, *Chāndajesi*, l. 14, etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prākrit grammarians, see, *e.g.*, *tiṇṇā* (Sanskrit, *tragaḥ*) in l. 17 instead of *tiṇṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56; *tissa* in l. 27 instead of *tassa*[3]. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in l. 19 in the sense of *tasya*,[4] *ya* in ll. 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*,[5] and the euphonic nasal in *etthaṁ-gāme* in l. 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the Mahārāshṭrī, see, *e.g.*, *āpaṇo* (for the regular *appaṇo*[6]) in l. 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāshṭra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī; see, *e.g.*, the softening of *th* into *dh* in *Ādhivaṇika*, l. 9 and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpadha*, *pariharadha* and *parihārāpadha*[7] in lines 25 and 26 and *dāṇi*[8] in l. 8. On the other hand, we have hardening of *d* into *t* in *-majjātā*, l. 19, as in the Paiśāchī[9]. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or, *siṁ*) used in the sense of the dative, *e.g.*, *Jisujjesiṁ* (Sanskrit, *Jiṣṇōryūya*), *Rudajjesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrāryūya*), etc., in ll. 10—18. According to grammarians[10] the dative case has disappeared from the Prākrits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *ssa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prākrit inscriptions. In the present grant, on the other hand, we find the form in *si* (or *siṁ*[11]) used throughout. It

[1] See, e.g., the *Gōtrapravarasaṁdhānakadamba*, pp. 44, etc.

[2] [See below p. 153, n. 4—Ed.]

[3] Vararuchi, VI, 6 mentions *tissā* as genitive singular in the feminine.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI, 11.

[5] Similarly *ya* is used in this sense in line 6 of the Mayidavōlu plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 87) and in lines 12 and 14 of the Ellore plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 58 and 59.

[6] Vararuchi, V, 46. The Hirahaḍagalli plates have *appaṇa* in l. 8. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attaṇō*.

[7] Vararuchi, XII, 3. It may be noted that the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman in l. 20 and the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī (above, Vol. VIII, p. 148) in l. 11 have *parihāratha* and *parihārāpetha*.

[8] Hēmachandra lays down *dāṇiṁ* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anusvāra* is optionally dropped (VIII, l. 29). The Hirahaḍagalli plates (l. 7) have the same form as here, while the Mayidavōlu plates (l. 5) and the Kondamudi plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 317, l. 7) have *dāṇi*.

[9] It is noteworthy that *-majjātiṁ* occurs in l. 45 of the Hirahaḍagalli plates and *-majjādāya* in l. 18 of the Mayidavōlu plates. Both these records are of the same period and come from the same part of South India.

[10] Vararuchi, VI, 64.

[11] *Siṁ* is used only in three or four places in ll. 10-12.

seems to have been modelled on the genitive plural forms of pronouns, *e.g.*, *jesiṁ*, *tesiṁ*, *kesiṁ*, etc., just as the pronominal form *etāṇa* is made on the analogy of *bāmhaṇāṇa*[1] which accompanies it in l. 17. This form in *si* has survived in old Marāṭhī works like the *Līḷācharitra* and the *Jñānēśvarī* and is plainly the source of the modern Marāṭhī affix *sa*. Scholars have long been in doubt about the origin of this affix. Some derived it from the Prākrit affix *ssa*, but as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out the form in *sa* does not occur in old Marāṭhī works which throughout exhibit only the form in *si*[2]. Other origins of this affix have been suggested. Bhandarkar traced it to the Sanskrit word *sama*[3] and Rajavade to *āsa*[4] (meaning 'near'). The numerous forms in *si* which occur in the sense of the dative in the present inscription leave no doubt that this affix is the real parent of the Marāṭhī affix *sa*.

The only **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma-*, l. 1) and *anusvāra* (in *kuta[ṁ]ṁa*, l. 26 and *sā[ṁ]*[5]*ṁvachchharaṁ*, l. 28), the use of *j* for *y* in *karejja*, l. 26 and *kerejjāma*, l. 28, and the use of the class nasal in place of an *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prākrit words, see, *e.g.*, *Vindhyaśaktēr*, and *Nāndikaḍaṁa*, l. 5, *a-chaṁm-aṅgālika*, l. 22 and *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24, etc.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *dṛishṭaṁ*,[6] 'seen', the auspicious word *siddhaṁ* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarmaṇ.[7] The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka** king, the *Dharmamahārāja* **Vindhyaśakti. The object** of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyaśakti, of the village *Ākāsapaṭṭa*[8] which was situated near Tākāḷakkhōppaka on the road going north from Nāndikaḍa. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the Āṭharvaṇa *charaṇa* or Atharvavēda. Brāhmaṇas of this Vēda, though now practically non-existent in the Central Provinces and Berār, were apparently not so rare in the age of the Vākāṭakas; for, the Tirōḍi plates[9] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II also register the grant of a village in the Bālāghāṭ District of the Central Provinces to a Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvavēda. The names of all the donees mentioned in lines 10-18 end in *ajja* (or, *aja*, Sanskrit, *ārya*) as in the early grants of the Pallavas, Bṛihatphalāyanas and Ānandas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one Brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former, again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share[9] and the remaining four, two shares[10] each.

[1] Forms like *etāṇa* are, of course, recognised by Vararuchi, VI, 4.

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (publ. in 1914), p. 204.

[3] According to Bhandarkar the origin of the Marāṭhī affix *su* is the same as that of Hindī *sē*, Gujarātī *sẽ* or *syũ* and Sindhī *sẽ* or *sẽ*, *ibid.* p. 251.

[4] Rajvade, *Jñānēśvarīchē Vyākaraṇa*, (Marāṭhī), p. 11.

[5] This word does not occur in the beginning of the unfinished Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivīshēṇa II (above Vol. IX, p. 270) and the unfinished Drug plate, (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 212.)

[6] In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 42), on the other hand, *dṛishṭaṁ* is written in the margin and *siddhaṁ* in the first line.

[7] The name of the village is used in the plural just like *Vaḷāvakēsu* in inscription No. 13 at Kārlē (above, Vol. VII, p. 57).

[8] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

[9] The text has *ādḍhaṁśa* in l. 10, which probably means 'a half'. Compare *aḍḍhiṁśē* in l. 21 of the Koḍamaḍi plates of Jayavarmaṇ (above, Vol. VI, p. 317). *Addhiṁśē* which occurs in l. 39 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, p. 9 and n. 24) has, however, been translated by Bühler as 'labourers'.

[10] *Paṭa* in l. 15 corresponds to *paṭi-bhāga* or *paṭi-bhāga* in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (ll. 12, 13, *etc.*, *pasiṁ*). In the Gōraṭha plates of Attivarmaṇ *paṭṭi* is used in the sense of a measure of land. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Is *paṭṭi* or *paṭa* identical with *pāṭaka* which is mentioned as a measure of land in the Gunaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta? See *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff.

The plates are **dated** in the 37th year (expressed in numerical symbols) evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Hēmanta. This date does not admit of verification and there is no reference to any era, but that the record must be referred to an early period in the age of the Vākāṭakas appears not only from the use of the Prākrit language in its formal portion but also from the manner of dating it; for such a season-date is met with only in one other Vākāṭaka inscription, *viz.*, the Dudia plates[1] of Pravarasēna II. The present grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu) and was issued from Vatsagulma. Only one other grant is known to have been issued from this place, *viz.*, that recorded in the India Office plate[2] of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna.

Vatsagulma was probably the capital of Vindhyaśakti. It seems to have continued to be the Vākāṭaka capital at least down to the time of Dēvasēna and evidently attained great importance in course of time; for it gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākrit play *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājaśēkhara mentions Vachchhomī (which plainly corresponds to the Sanskrit Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with the Māgadhī and the Pāñchālī. Vachchhomī is clearly identical with Vaidarbhī. The latter form is derived from the name of the country of Vidarbha and the former from that of its capital Vachchhoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. Randle has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the south and that it corresponds to the Vākāṭaka kingdom.[3] Rājaśēkhara also tells us in his *Karpūramañjarī*[4] that Vachchhoma was situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha. The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by the same author in his rhetorical work *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[5] In the third *adhyāya* of it, Rājaśēkhara states that the mythical Kāvya-purusha married the Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. Vatsagulma was evidently known as a centre of learning in the time of Rājaśēkhara. This place is identical with Bāsim where the present plates were found. It is now regarded as a holy *kshētra* and there are said to be as many as 108 *tīrthas* in it, associated with different gods and sages. The place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*[6] states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakshiṇāpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The local *Māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Since then the place came to be known as Vatsagulma.[7] **Nāndīkaḍa**, which was apparently the headquarters of a district,[8] is probably identical with Nāndēḍ, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizām's dominions. **Tākālakhōppaka** and the donated village **Ākāsapadda** which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay on the road going to the North from Nāndīkaḍa. Now, on the road which connects Nāndēḍ with Bāsim which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākaligōhan and Tā'vali about 40 and 43

[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

[2] *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 180.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 179.

[4] See *Karpūramañjarī* (Harvard Oriental Series ed.), p. 26.

[5] Gaekwad's Oriental Series, ed. (1916), p. 10.

[6] *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.), p. 295. The *Bṛihatkathā* also mentions that Vatsa and Gulma were sons of a Brāhmaṇa and maternal uncles of Guṇāḍhya, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

[7] *Akōlā District Gazetteer*, pp. 325 ff.

[8] Similar names ending in *laṇa* (*e.g.*, *Ekōjalaṇa*, *Ēṇṇālaṇa*) occur in other grants of the Vākāṭakas as names of districts.

miles respectively from Nāndōḍ. One of these may represent ancient Tākālakkhōppaka. About seven miles to the west of Tākaligōhan there is still a small village named Āsuṇḍ which is possibly identical with Ākasapadda. The identification of Nāndīkaḍa with Nāndōḍ, which is almost certain, shows that Vindhyaśakti was ruling over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the **historical information** furnished by it.

The present inscription gives the following **genealogy** of the donor Vindhyaśakti: **Pravarasēna**, his son **Sarvasēna** and the latter's son **Vindhyaśakti**. In connection with Vindhyaśakti, the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishṭōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishṭōma, Bṛihaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hāritīputra* (a son, i. e., a descendant of Hāritī) and *Dharmamahārāja*.[1] These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākāṭaka king in the present grant only; for, they are nowhere mentioned in any of the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā, Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyaśakti is known to history, *viz.*, the one who is mentioned in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas and in the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[2] The use of the Prākrit language in a portion of this record lent colour to this view; for, all other known Vākāṭaka inscriptions—whether on stone or on copper—are invariably in Sanskrit. The Bāsim plates were therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti. A closer examination of the record has, however, shown that this identification cannot be upheld. The genealogical portion of the grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti[3]. Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasēna I in all other Vākāṭaka grants[4]. It seems therefore that the expressions *śrī-Pravarasēna-*

[1] The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, seems to have been suggested by the analogous one *Dharmamahāmātra* which appears as the title of a high official in the inscriptions of Aśōka. We find it for the first time in the Hirahaḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. It is, however, noteworthy that the title was mentioned in Pallava grants only in connection with the name of the contemporary ruling king; for, in the early Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas which mention three generations (*e. g.*, the Pikira and Māṅgaḷūr grants of Simhavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 142; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 155), the title is applied only to the ruling king who made the particular gift. This is probably the reason why the title does not occur in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, for he was only a *Yuvarāja* when he issued the plates. The Kadambas adopted this title from the Pallavas after whom they rose to power. Their grants, however, mention this title even in connection with the ancestors of the ruling kings, see, *e.g.*, the Bannahaḷḷi plates of Kṛishṇavarman II, above, Vol. VI, pp. 18 ff. The present Bāsim plates have adopted the same custom; for, as shown below, they mention this title in connection with the name of all the three kings, Pravarasēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti. In some later Kadamba grants we find the title mentioned in connection with the names of old kings only, which shows that it went out of use in course of time. Like the Kadambas the Early Chālukyas also called themselves Hāritīputras, but they rose to power long after the Vākāṭakas.

[2] This view is maintained in the article which was read at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress.

[3] This was first pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his note on the present plates published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 ff. The repetition may, however, be attributed to the carelessness of the drafter of the record. An analogous instance is furnished by the Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba *Yuvarāja* Dēvavarman, which apply the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* twice to his father Kṛishṇavarman, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 33-34.

[4] See, *e.g.*, the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85. The list is the same except that the Bāsim plates mention *Jyōtishṭōma* in place of *Uktha*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra*.

pautrasya in l. 3 and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* in l. 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravirasēnasya pautrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya*, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravirasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya* respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravirasēna Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression *Agniṣṭōm-āptōryyāma.....chatur-aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ* and *Samrāja*[*ḥ**] would now qualify *śrī-Pravirasēnasya*, showing that it was he, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title of *Samrāṭ*. This is quite in accordance with the statement in other Vākāṭaka grants. Pravirasēna, who heads the genealogical list in the present plates, would thus be Pravirasēna I who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākāṭaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would thus be as follows—

Pravirasēna I
|
(son)
Sarvasēna
|
(son)
Vindhyaśakti II

This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākāṭaka family; for, according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravirasēna II and Pṛithivīshēṇa II, Pravirasēna I was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra who probably did not come to the throne[1].

Let us next consider if we could adduce any other evidence to prove the existence of this hitherto unknown branch of the Vākāṭaka family.

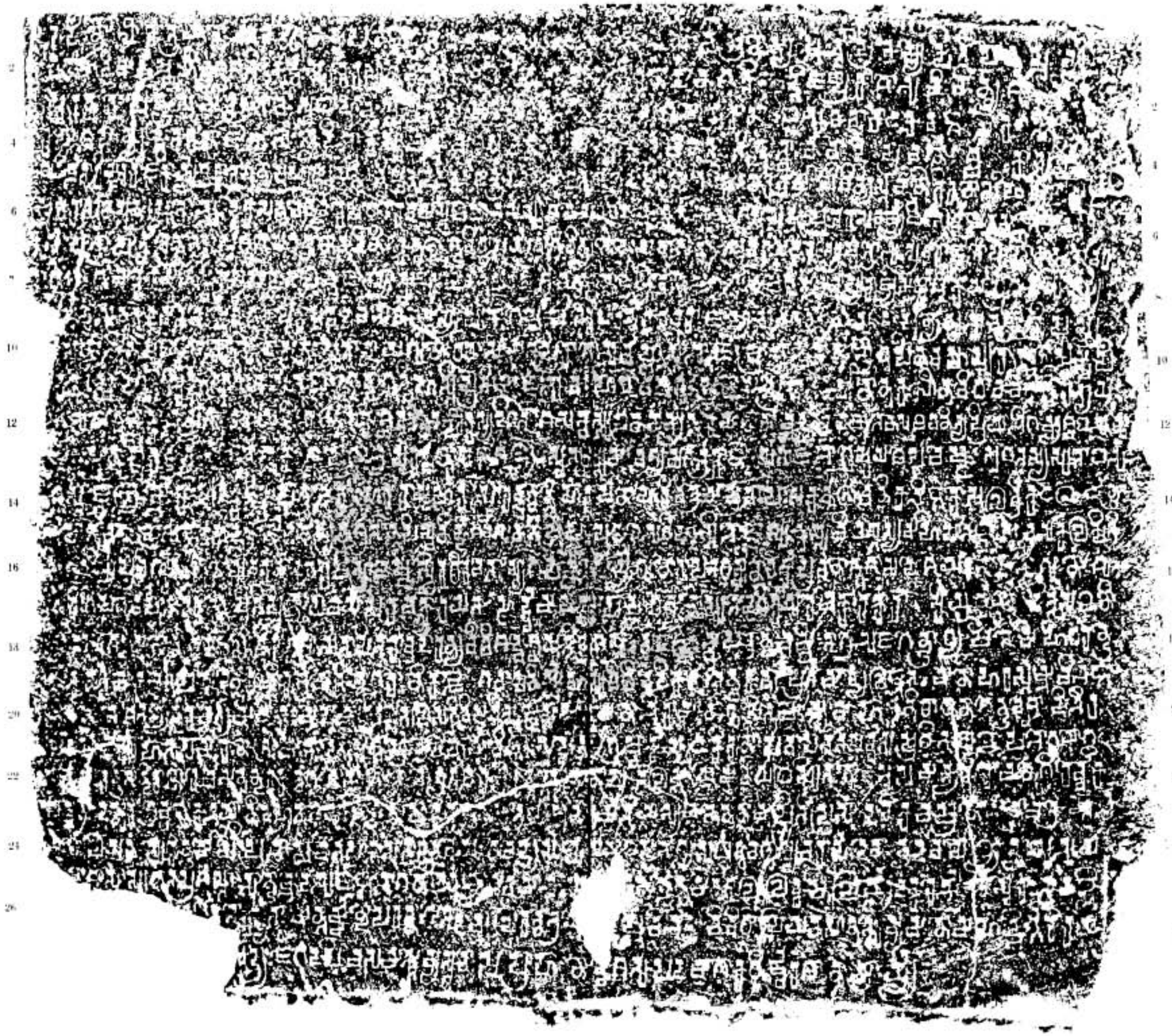
In this connection we would draw attention to the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā. This inscription has been edited thrice before, first by Dr. Bhau Daji with 'a tolerably accurate facsimile' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-74, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 69-73 and finally by Dr. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-28. Dr. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a lithograph of the record from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal[2]. This lithograph has been somewhat worked up by hand. As it is, it seems to show that the inscribed stone is quite smooth where the inscription is well preserved, but those who have visited Ajaṇṭā and seen the inscription *in situ* know that it is just the reverse. This lithograph must therefore be used with caution and important readings of it must be verified from mechanical copies of the record. As we were suspicious about certain readings in the transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler, we requested the Government Epigraphist for India to lend us a fresh estampage of the inscription. We are grateful to him for complying with our request and sending us an excellent estampage[3].

The Ajaṇṭā inscription is very much worn especially in the middle and on the left hand side, but Bhagwanlal has, with his wonted skill, transcribed all that could be deciphered in his days. We give below his transcript of the first nine lines of the record for ready reference.

[1] Gautamīputra does not seem to have ascended the throne because in later Vākāṭaka grants the epithet *Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājasya* which invariably precedes the names of ruling kings is not prefixed to his name. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1.

[2] See *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, Plate LVII.

[3] The estampage is reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archæology, Hyderabad State.



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH

[१] उदीर्णलोकक्षयदीप्तवह्निनिर्व्वापनो[1]
. . प्रणम्य पूर्व्वां प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्व्वी[म्] [॥]

[२] महाविमर्देक्षमभिद्रढशक्तिः क्रुद्धस्मरैरप्यनिवार्य्य[वीर्य्यः] [।]
. . रणदानशक्तिः द्विज[×]प्रकाशी भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [॥]

[३] पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्य्यार्ज्जितस[र्व्वलोकः] [।]
. [यशो]ध्वजानां बभूव वाकाटकवंशकेतुः [॥]

[४] रणे[षु] हर्य्युत्थितरेणुजालसञ्छादितार्क [।]
. नरातीन्कृत्वा[भि]वादप्रणताञ्चकार[2] [॥]

[५] [विनि]र्ज्जितारि[स्मर]राजकार्य्यसकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय[त्न] [।]
. . . . नरेंद्रमौलिविन्यस्तमणिकिरणलीढक्रमाम्बुजः

[६] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसत्पवेन्दीवरेक्षण[3]रविमयूख
[रुद्र ? सेन:] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्व्वसेनस्तुतोभवत्

[७] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य [प्रशशास] धर्म्मेण मेदिनीम् कुन्तलेन्द्रवि
. . . प्रवरसेनस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्ज्जितोदारशासनप्रवर[:] [।]

[८] [॥] तस्यात्मज[×]कामत
. [।] मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दकी य[×]प्रशशास सम्यक् [॥]

[९] तस्यात्मजोभूच्चरदेव भुवि देवसेन[: ।] यस्योपभोगैश्चलितैर्व्विषाव-
नैर्नृदेवराजस्य भू: [॥] पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य

In his introduction to this inscription Bhagwanlal gave the following list of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in it :—

1 Vindhyaśakti.
2 Pravaraśēna.
3 (Rudra ?)sēna.
4
5 Dēvasēna.
6 Harishēṇa.

[1] The reading appears to be nakṣi-nirvāpaṇō.
[2] The reading is-pravaṇāṁś-chakāra as noted by Bühler.
[3] Bühler read [śri-] before naréndra- in l. 5 and -éndiwar-ékshaṇaḥ in l. 6. See also, above, Vol. VIII, p. 27.

He further remarked,[1] 'From the broken state of the inscription it is not clear whether Pravarasēna was a son of Vindhyaśakti, or, as is probable, of a member of the Vindhyaśakti family.[2] Of his son only *-sēna* is legible, preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name may have been Bhadrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc.' Bhagwanlal seems to have adopted the reading Rudrasēna, because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I[3] in the Siwani and Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This list was next revised by Bühler in the introductory note to his transcript of the record in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. Bühler thought that he could read, in the middle of line 7, the *akshara pra* (or, *pri*)*thivī* which showed a name like Pṛithivīshēṇa. As Rudrasēna was mentioned in the immediately preceding line he identified this prince with Pṛithivīshēṇa, the son of Rudrasēna I, mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land-grants. Again, he proposed to read further on in the same line, *Pravarasē*[*nasya putrō-bhūt*]*sya putrō-bhūt*....in place of Bhagwanlal's *Pravarasēnasya putrō-bhūt*, and this Pravarasēna he identified with Pravarasēna II. According to him therefore the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription were as follows :—

Vindhyaśakti,

|

(son?)

Pravarasēna I,

|

(son)

(Ru)drasēna I,

|

(son)

Pṛithivīshēṇa,

|

(son)

Pravarasēna II,

|

(son)

.....

|

(son)

Dēvasēna,

|

(son)

Harishēṇa.

He also pointed out that the name of one prince, Rudrasēna II was omitted after Pṛithivīshēṇa.

[1] Burgess and Indraji—*Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India*, *A. S. W. I.*, p. 69.

[2] Scholars are now agreed that this Pravarasēna was the son of Vindhyaśakti himself; for, he is evidently identical with Pravīra mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* as the son of Vindhyaśakti. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

[3] He was Pravarasēna's grandson.

From the land-grants of Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II we get the following genealogy :—

Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
(Gautamīputra),
|
(son)
Rudrasēna I,
|
(son)
Pṛithivishēṇa I,
|
(son)
Rudrasēna II,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II,
|
(son)
Narēndrasēna,
|
(son)
Pṛithivishēṇa II.

If we compare this list with Bühler's revised genealogy of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, two discrepancies in the latter at once strike us—(i) Rudrasēna I was not the son of Pravarasēna I, but was his grandson and (ii) Pravarasēna II was not the son of Pṛithivishēṇa I, but was his grandson. Fortunately, the Ajaṇṭā inscription is quite clear in the portions which describe these relationships, so that there is not the least doubt about the readings. In the former case the inscription reads *[Rudra?]sēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jita-sarvasēnas=sutō=bhavat* in line 6 and in the latter case, *[Pṛithivī ?]shēṇaḥ Pravarasēnas=tasya putrō=bhūt=prasar-ōrjjit-ōdāra-śāsana-prasaraḥ*. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed mistakes in describing these relationships or that some of the readings of the royal names given by Bhagwanlal and Bühler are incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely ; for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa's minister and is on the whole very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the names of Rudrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa are supposed to occur and consequently mistakes in reading are not unlikely. On referring to the excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist we found that the reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* was extremely doubtful. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler also were not certain about it, but Bhagwanlal thought that he saw a faintly traceable form like *dra*. He proposed to read *Rudrasēnaḥ* evidently because Vākāṭaka land-grants mention a Rudrasēna, soon after Pravarasēna I. This reading was also adopted by Bühler. Referring to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature is quite uncertain, but there appears a loop below it. This has evidently been taken to be the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in this lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop ; it is always denoted by a hook open to the left. The estampage of the Government Epigraphist does not clearly show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* is, therefore, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Let us see if we could restore this royal name. The extant portion of this verse shows that the prince whose name is partially lost was a son of Pravarasēna who has now been identified by all scholars with Pravarasēna I. The Bāsim plates suggest that he might be Sarvasēna and the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnaḥ*. The latter part of the verse in l. 6 would therefore read *Sarvasēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jita-sarva-sēnas-sutō-bhavat*. The resulting *yamaka* makes this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this Ajaṇṭā inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names[1] as will be seen from the following lines :—

2 अभिहतशक्तिः दानशक्तिः विन्ध्यशक्तिः ॥

7 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्ज्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः ।

10-11 हस्तिभोजः दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव ।

14 हरिषेणो हरिविक्रमप्रतापः ।

The description *jita-sarva-sēnaḥ* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna[2]. The Bāsim plates have now shown that Sarvasēna was a son of Pravarasēna.[3] **This Pravarasēna, with whom the genealogy in the Bāsim plates begins, must therefore, be identified with Pravarasēna I.**

In the middle of the next line (7) Bühler read the *akshara*s *pra* (or, *prā*) *thiva* and thought that they formed part of the royal name *Prithivishēṇa*. This prince he identified with Pṛithivishēṇa I. Referring to the lithograph used by him, we find that the *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*, for, in other places in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom. See, for instance, *prathitō* in line 15, *prathita-guṇa-ōpabhōga* in line 21, etc. The *akshara* appears to be *śrī* of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct in that lithograph.[4] The following *akshara* is clearly *vin*. In the new estampage we find clear traces of *dhya* following *vin*. Especially the elongated curve representing subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *akshara*s are almost certainly *sēnaḥ*.[5] The name thus appears to be *śrī-Vindhyasēnaḥ*. This prince we identify with Vindhyaśakti of the Bāsim plates.

As regards the remaining names we are in complete agreement with Bühler. They are Pravarasēna, Dēvasēna[6] and Harishēṇa. Between Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna we have lost the name of a prince who, according to the inscription, came to the throne when he was a boy only eight years old. I do not, however, agree with Bühler's view that this Pravarasēna was

[1] For another instance of the use of *yamakas* based on personal names, see the Nīdhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 66 ff.

[2] Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jita-sarva-bhōgaḥ* or *jita-sarva-rājaḥ*.

[3] It is possible to read *Sarvvasēnaḥ* from the traces in the new estampage, but we prefer to rely for the reading *Sarvasēnaḥ* on the wording of the description in l. 6.

[4] Traces of the subscript *r* can be clearly seen in the new estampage.

[5] These *akshara*s were doubtfully read as *shēṇaḥ* by Bühler.

[6] I do not agree with Jayaswal's view (*History of India*, etc., pp. 75 & 79) that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēṇa. The description in l. 13 is intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in other records, see, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXV, p. 14 (line 17 of the text). Harishēṇa is introduced for the first time in the next verse of that inscription.

Pravarasēna II, of whom several land-grants have come down to us. The names Vindhyasēna (or, Vindhyaśakti) and Sarvasēna of his father and grandfather respectively show that he was different from Pravarasēna II, the son of Rudrasēna II and grandson of Pṛithivishēṇa I.

The genealogy of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family can be stated as follows :—

Vindhyaśakti I,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
Sarvasēna,
|
(son)
Vindhyaśakti II (or, Vindhyasēna),
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II[1]
|
son
(Name lost),
|
son
Dēvasēna,
|
son
Harishēṇa.

We know from the *Purāṇas* that Pravarasēna I had four sons who became kings. They apparently divided his extensive kingdom among themselves after his death. Gautamīputra who was probably his eldest son, seems to have predeceased him. Therefore, Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra, succeeded Pravarasēna I. An inscription of this king has been discovered at Deoṭek in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces,[2] not very far from Pauni where an ancient record of a king of the Bhāra clan (the later Bhāraśivas) has been found.[3] He may, therefore, have acquired by inheritance the territory of the Bhāraśivas also. The copper-plates of his great-grandson Pravarasēna II record gifts of land at Chammak near Ellichpur[4] in the Amraoti District, Chandrapura[5] (modern Chāndur) in the Wardhā District, Paṭṭan[6] in the Betul District, Tirōḍi[7] in the Bālāghāṭ District and Brahmapūraka[8] (modern Bāhmni) in the Bhaṇḍārā District. Pravarasēna II was therefore ruling over the northern parts of modern Berār and the territory comprised in the Siwani, Betul, Bālāghāṭ, Nāgpur, Bhaṇḍārā, Wardhā and Chāndā Districts of the Central Provinces. We do not know how much of this territory was acquired by Pravarasēna II or his immediate ancestors. But since the inscriptions of no other branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been found in these districts, we may suppose that the whole of the aforementioned territory was under the rule of Rudrasēna I also. His capital was probably Nandivardhana which is mentioned as the place of issue in the earliest

[1] In a combined genealogy of the two branches the son of Rudrasēna II may be called Pravarasēna III.
[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference, Mysore*, pp. 613 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.
[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 235 ff.
[5] Above, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 93.
[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol XXII, pp. 167 ff.
[8] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 234 ff. and above, Vol. XXII, p. 211, n. 8.

copper-plate grant of this branch, viz., the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā[1] and the Bēlorā plates of her son Pravarasēna II.[2] Later on Pravarasēna II founded Pravarapura and shifted his seat of government there.

Pṛithivishēṇa II is the last known member of this branch. Scholars have long been in doubt about the relation of this Pṛithivishēṇa with Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar thought that the Vākāṭaka family branched forth after Pravarasēna II, Narēndrasēna, the father of Pṛithivishēṇa II, being a brother of the Vākāṭaka prince whose name is lost in the Ajaṇṭā inscription.[3] Jayaswal, on the other hand, identified Narēndrasēna with this latter prince.[4] The foregoing discussion will make it plain that the two branches had separated long before, *i.e.*, after the reign of Pravarasēna I and that Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa belonged to a different line from that of Narēndrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa II.

Only five inscriptions of this second branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been discovered so far, viz., the present Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Dēvasēna[5] and three stone inscriptions of the reign of Harishēṇa, discovered at or near Ajaṇṭā,—one of his feudatory in Cave No. XVII[6] and two of his minister Varāhadēva in cave No. XVI[7] and the Ghaṭōtkacha cave[8] at Gulwāḍā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā. The provenance of these inscriptions shows that this branch ruled over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions. Both the known copper-plate inscriptions of this branch have been issued from Vatsagulma[9] which seems to have continued to be the seat of their government to the last.

According to the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch fixed above, Vindhyaśakti II and his son Pravarasēna II were the contemporaries of Pṛithivishēṇa I and his son Rudrasēna II of the other branch. From the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā we know that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II (A. D. 380-413). He may therefore have come to the throne in *circa* A. D. 400[10]. This is also the approximate date of the close of Vindhyaśakti II's reign. As we have seen, Vindhyaśakti II was the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. In view of the abnormally long reigns assigned in the *Purāṇas* to Vindhyaśakti I and Pravarasēna I[11] and the date, the thirty-seventh regnal year, of the present plates of Vindhyaśakti II, we shall not be wrong if we assign 150 years to the four reigns of Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II. Vindhyaśakti I, the founder of the dynasty, seems, therefore, to have risen to power about A. D. 250. Vindhyaśakti II was followed by four kings whose reigns must have

[1] Above, Vol XV, pp. 39 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol., XXIV, pp. 260 ff.

[3] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. V, p. 33.

[4] Jayaswal, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 76.

[5] *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

[6] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 128 ff.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. The name of Varāhadēva is lost in this inscription, but line 16 refers to the sons, apparently of Hastibhōja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna, mentioned in l. 10, and Varāhadēva was probably one of them.

[9] This place is identical with Bāsim, see above, p. 140.

[10] Vincent Smith places the marriage of Rudrasēna II with Prabhāvatiguptā at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion against the Śaka satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshṭra 'somewhere about A. D. 395'. *J. R. A. S.* for 1914, pp. 325 ff.

[11] According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti ruled (or, perhaps lived) for 95 years and Pravarasēna I for 60 years.

covered about a century. We may therefore place Harishēṇa, the last of them, about A. D. 475-500.

The present grant is thus the earliest copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas. In its Prākrit portion it has several expressions which in their Sanskrit form were already known from the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā and Pravarasēna II. It is noteworthy that most of them find mention in the Mayidavolu and Hīrahaḍagalli grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman as will be seen from the following table[1] :—

No.	Expression in the Bāsim plates.	No.	Corresponding expression in the Hīrahaḍagalli or Mayidavolu plates[2].
1	āpuṇo vijaya-vejayike āyu-bala-vaddhanike	1	appaṇa kula-gottasa dhama-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhaniko vijayavejayiko (H.)
2	a-ratṭha-saṁvinayika	2	a-ratṭha-saṁvinayikaṁ (H.)
3	a-lavaṇa-keṇa-kkhanaka	3	a-loṇa-guḷa-chchhobhaṁ (H.)
4	a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaṇa	4	a-dūdha-dadhi-gahaṇaṁ (H.)
5	a-parampara-go-balivadda	5	a-pārampara-balivadda-gahaṇaṁ (H.)
6	a-chira-siddhika a-chamm-aṅgūḍika	6	a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇaṁ (H.)
7	a-bhaḍa-ppavesa	7	a-bhaḍa-pavesaṁ (M.)
8	a-khaṭṭi-chollaka-veṇesika	8	a-kara-yollaka-vinesi-khaṭṭā-vāsaṁ (H.)
9	sāvva-jūti-parihāra-parihitaṁ	9	sava-parihārehi parihāriṭo (M.)

The close similarity in many of these expressions is very striking. It shows that the drafter of the Vākāṭaka grant has borrowed the expressions from some earlier Pallava grant. Besides these, we may notice the following points of similarity between the records of the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas: (1) Vākāṭaka grants, when complete, begin with *dṛishṭaṁ* which corresponds to *diṭhaṁ* seen on the outer side of the first plate of both the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahaḍagalli grants. (2) The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā[3] begin like the Pallava Sanskrit grants with the words *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*. (3) A number of Vedic sacrifices are enumerated in the beginning of both the Vākāṭaka and early Pallava grants. (4) The words *ājñā svayaṁ* at the end of the Tirōḍi plates recall similar expressions *sayaṁ-āṇataṁ* and *āṇati sayaṁ tti daṭṭā* at the close of the Hīrahaḍagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

These similarities are surely not accidental. As the rule of the Pallavas never extended to the Central Provinces and Berār, we cannot explain them as due to the employment, by the Vākāṭakas, of the clerks who were previously in the Secretariat of the Pallavas. The striking similarities in several expressions pointed out above clearly presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas and this is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder on a pillar at Amarāvatī in the Āndhra country.[4] That the rule of the

[1] The similarities between the Sanskrit expressions in the Vākāṭaka grants and the Prākrit grants of the Pallavas have been noticed before. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 14, n. 1, and *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 22 ff.

[2] The expressions taken from the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 ff.) are shown as (H) and those from the Mayidavolu plates (above, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.) as (M).

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, p. 267.

Pallavas extended to the Āndhra country in the north is well known; for the Mayidavolu plates record the grant of a village in the *Aṇḍhāpatha* (*Āndhra-patha*) to two Brāhmaṇas. Mere discovery of a pilgrim record at a holy place is, of course, no clear evidence that the pilgrim was a resident of that or even of a neighbouring country, but in conjunction with close similarity in a number of technical expressions such as is noticed nowhere else,[1] it may be taken to point to some sort of connection between the two royal houses. **We shall not therefore be wrong in supposing that the Vākāṭakas had their original home in the South.**

This conclusion is again corroborated by the findspots of Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The earliest known inscription of the Vākāṭakas has been discovered at Deoṭek in the Chāndā District. It records the construction of a *dharma-sthāna* by Rudrasēna who, on the evidence of palæography, has been identified with Rudrasēna I.[2] Besides the present plates, several copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II have been discovered in different parts of the Central Provinces and Berār. The only records connected with the Vākāṭaka dynasty which have been discovered in the regions to the north of the Narmadā are the Nachnā[3] and Ganj[4] inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivishēṇa. As Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur Dikshit have shown, he must be identified with Pṛithivishēṇa II on the evidence of palæography. Vyāghradēva is, therefore, probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who, we know, was ruling over the adjoining territory.[5] The Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II state that the ruler of Mālwā was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna and it is not unlikely that Pṛithivishēṇa's own authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A. D. The Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, therefore, do not in any way go against the foregoing conclusion about the original home of the Vākāṭakas.

The late Dr. Jayaswal recently advanced the theory that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from Bāgāt in the Orchā State.[6] In support of his view he has tried to show that three coins discovered at Kosam and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasēna I, Rudrasēna I and Pṛithivishēṇa I.[7] The first two, according to him, bear the dates 76 and 100 respectively which he refers to the era of A. D. 248. This era, though called by the name of the Chēdi or Kalachuri era, was, according to Jayaswal, really started by the Vākāṭakas. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful.[8] Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years. According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra, who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled at two places Purikā and Chanakā.[9] Jayaswal's identification of Chanakā with Nachnā

[1] Two of these expressions occur in some inscriptions (*e.g.*, Nāsik, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4) of the Sātavāhanas from which the Pallavas had evidently taken them. That the Āndhra country had been ruled by the Sātavāhanas before it came under the rule of the Pallavas is well known.

[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

[6] *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 67.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

[8] Dr. A. S. Altekar has shown that the alleged coin of Rudrasēna has no traces of the letters *Rudra*, but a symbol which looks like a trident or *triratna*. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, *Num. Suppl.* No. XLVI, p. 29.

[9] We adopt the reading suggested by Jayaswal, *Bhōkshyanti cha samāḥ shashṭiṁ Purikāṁ Chanakāṁ cha vai*. See *History of India*, etc., p. 16.

cannot be accepted in the absence of corroborative proof. As for Purikā, it was situated according to the *Harivaṁśa*[1] at the foot of the Ṛikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain and, therefore, in the Central Provinces or Berār. Vindhyaśakti, the first ancestor of the Vākāṭakas, may have been so called because he extended his power to the foot of the Vindhya mountain in the north. There is thus no valid argument against our view that the Vākāṭakas had their original home in the South.[2]

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।*] इदम् [।*] वक्षसुल्काद्धर्म्ममहाराजस्या[5]ग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामवाजपेयबृहस्पति-

2 ष्टोमबहुसुवर्णाधानपुण्डरीकवाजिमेधयाजिनस्सम्राज(जो) इ-

3 न्द्रविष्णुवृद्धि[6]सगोत्रस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य[7]

4 धर्म्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्व्वसेनपुत्रस्य[8] धर्म्ममहाराजस्य

5 [9]वाकाटकानां ।[10] श्रि(श्री)विन्ध्यशक्तेर्व्वचनात् [।*] नान्दीकडस [11]उत्तरमग्गे

Second Plate; First Side.

6 ताकालक्खीप्पकाब्भासे आकासपदेसु अम्हसन्तका साव्वायोगणि-

7 युत्ता आवत्ति[12]भडा सेसा य सावरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता[13] भाणितब्बा [।*] आञ्ञेहिं

8 [14]दाणि[15] आपुणो[16] विजयवेजयिके आयुवलवद्धणिके[17] स्वस्ति-

[1] *Viṣṇuparvan, adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22.

[2] The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti (I) and Pravīra at the end of the section about the kings of Vidiśā, but that is probably because like the Āndhras they had extended their power to North India.

[3] From ink-impressions. We have derived some help from Dr. D. C. Sircar's transcript of the plates which appeared in the *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 112 ff. while this article was going through the press.

[4] This word is written in the margin on a level with l. 3.

[5] The mark denoting the length of this vowel is faint.

[6] Other Vākāṭaka plates name this *gōtra* as *Viṣṇuvriddha*. See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85.

[7] Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य. See above, p. 142.

[8] Read श्रीसर्व्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य.

[9] Opposite this line in the margin there is a mark for *1*, denoting the number of the plate.

[10] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[11] The engraver first incised *dō* which he afterwards altered to *u*.

[12] *Āvatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is the same as *Dūtaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

[13] Compare *ājñā-saṁchāri-kulaputr-ādhikṛitāḥ* in the Sanskrit grants of the Vākāṭakas. See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

[14] In the margin on the left there is a sign for *2*, denoting the number of this plate.

[15] Hēmachandra (VIII, 1, 29; IV, 277) gives both *dāṇi* and *dāṇiṁ* in the Śaurasēnī. *Dāṇi* occurs in the Hirahadagalli plates also (above, Vol. I, p. 5).

[16] Prākrit grammarians give *appaṇō* as the correct form in the Mahārāshṭrī, see Vararuchi, v. 46 (Bhāmaha's commentary); Hēmachandra VIII, 3, 56.

[17] Hultzsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayidavōlu plates as Māgadhī nominatives. We would prefer to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the Hirahadagalli and British Museum plates, the gerund *kāraṇa* or *kāraṇaṁ* follows *-vaddhamānīyaṁ* or *vaddhamāṇe*.

9 शान्तिवाचने[1] इहामुत्तिके धाम्मत्थाणे एत्थङ्गामे आधिच्चणिक चेर-

10 णस्स आदक ।[2] भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसिं जिवुज्जेसिं कपिञ्चल-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 सगोत्तेसिं[3] । रुहज्जेसि । आविठ्ठायण[4]सगोत्तेसि । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि

12 कोसि[क]सगोत्तेसि । देअज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसिं । वेण्हुज्जेसि ।

13 कोसी(सि)कसगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि । पितु-

14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोतेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिकसगोत्ते(त्ति)सि जेट्ठजे-

15 सि । पदे(टे ?)हि दोहि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि वुडजेसि कोसिकसगोत्तेसि ।

Third Plate; First Side.

16 भाट्टिलज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि

17 चरिक्खजेसित्ति एताण[5] बाम्हणाण भागा तिण्णा[6] २ कोसिकसगोत्तेसि

18 [7]रेवतिजेसि । भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिचलिको अपुव्वद-

19 त्तोय दत्तो । पुव्वरायाणुमते य सें[8] चातुव्वेज्जगाममज्जाता[9] परिहारे ठित-

20 राम ।[10] तं जधा अरट्ठमंखिणयिक । अलवणकेच्छ[11]कतनक । अहिरक्खधारण-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 णगयप्पदेय । अपुप्फकिसरगहण[12] । अपरम्परगोवल्लिवर्ह [1]

[1] Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas.

[2] The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the Saurasēni. See also *rukkhadēva*, *rukkhēpadēsa*, *parihārattha* and *parihārapadha* in ll. 25—26 below.

[3] The signs of punctuation in lines 10—18 are superfluous.

[4] The *anusvāra* on *si* is very faint, but it is there.

[5] The *gōtra* Śrāvishṭha or Śrāvishṭhāyana is not mentioned in the *Gōtrapravarabandhōdaya*, but the Sangoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (above, Vol. XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmaṇas of the Śrāvishṭha *gōtra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the Atharva vēda.

[6] The Hirahadagalli plates (l. 27) have *ekē kaṇḍaṇṇēsu*.

[7] The correct form is *tisṛi* in all genders. See Vararuchi, IV, 36.

[8] In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate.

[9] This is genitive singular of *tad*, *ibid.*, VI, 11.

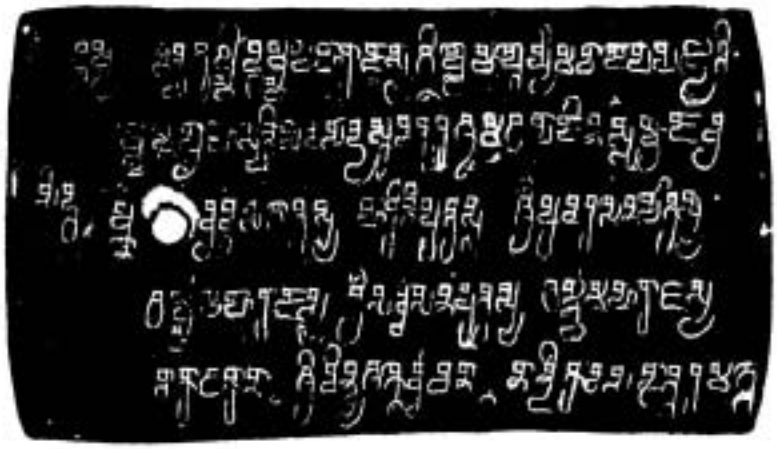
[10] This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahadagalli plates. According to Prākrit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Paiśāchī dialect.

[11] The marks of punctuation in lines 20—27 are superfluous.

[12] This seems to correspond to *kṛiṣi* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See l. 32 of the Paṭṭan plates, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[13] The curve on *ha* seems to have been cancelled.

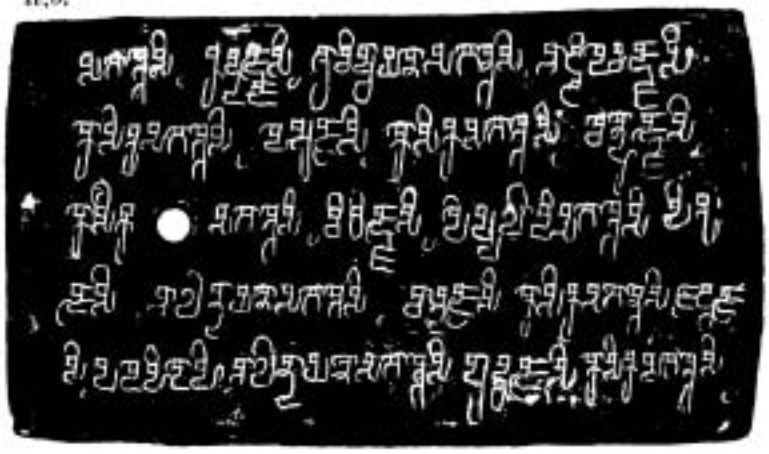
i.



ii,a.



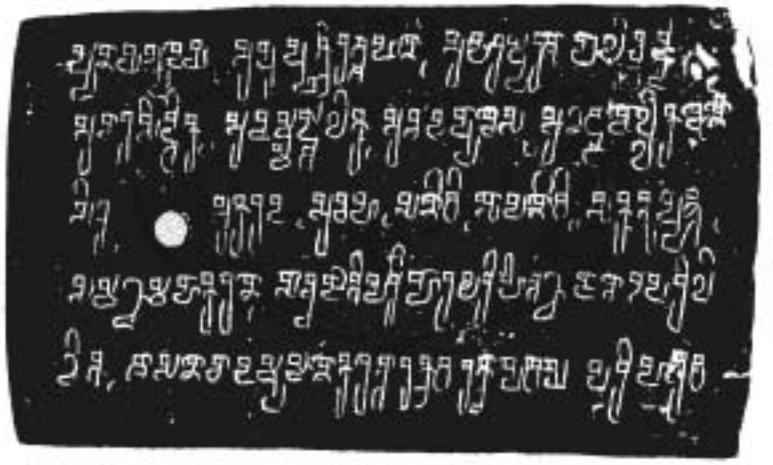
ii,b.



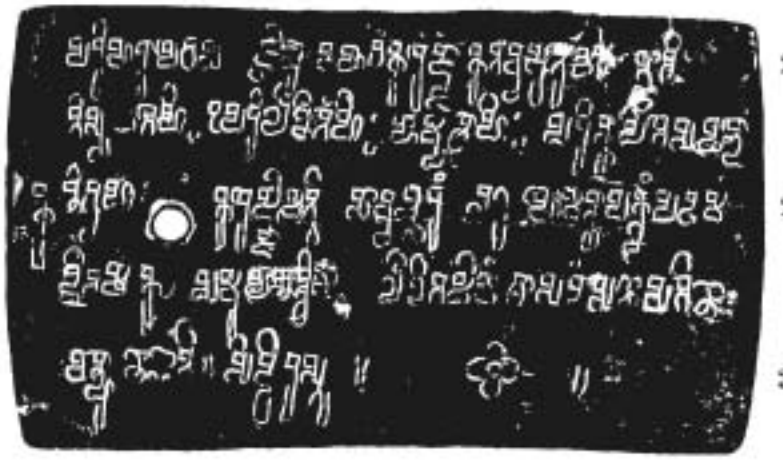
iii,a.



iii,b.



iv.



22 अचारसिद्धिक । अच[1]म्मङ्गान्तिक । अभडप्पावेस अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणि-

23 सिक । अकरद । अवच्छ । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्पन्त[2] ।

24 समच्छमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितच्छ [।*] जतो उपरिलि-

25 खित । शासणं[3] चादम्प(म्य ?)माणं[4] करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate.

26 परिहरापेध य [।*] जो वु आबाधं करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति[5]

27 तिस्स[6] एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहिं । ब्राम्हणेहिं । परिकुपितें[7] म[द]ण्ड-

28 [8]निपच्छ करेज्जामेत्ति [।*] साव्वच्छरं ३० ७ हेमन्ता(न्त)पक्खं पढमं

29 [दि]व[स] ४ समुपासत्थि[9] लिखितमिमं शास[नं] सेणापतिणा

30 वण्हुण[10] इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ — ॥[11]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1–5) Success! Seen[12]. From **Vatsagulma**[13]——. By the order of the *Dharmamahārāja*,[14] the illustrious **Vindhyaśakti (II)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, (*who is*) the son of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Sarvasēna** (*and*) grandson of the *Dharmamahārāja*,[15] the illustrious

[1] The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*.

[2] This corresponds to *sa-kṛiṭi-ōpakṛiṭa* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See above Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[3] The *anusvāra* on *sa* is very faint in the impression.

[4] [The reading seems to be *śāsaya-sōdāra-pramāṇaṁ karetū*, Skt. *śāsana-sōdaṁ pramāṇaṁ kṛitvā*.—B. C. C.]

[5] One letter after *ṇa* has been cancelled.

[6] Read *tasa*.

[7] Read *parikupitēi veditasa*. Compare Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[8] In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for *1*, denoting the number of the plate.

[9] The last three *akṣharas* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled.

[10] Read *Vaṇhuṇā*.

[11] There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

[12] That is, this engraved charter has been seen and approved. This word is absent in unfinished charters. See above Vol. XXII, p. 168.

[13] That is, this charter was issued from Vatsagulma.

[14] Fleet translated this epithet as 'pious' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 34 ff.) and Kielhorn as 'law-abiding' (above, Vol. III, p. 144). The intended meaning in Brahmanical records must have been 'Defender of the Vedic religion' (*dharma-rakshakā mahārājaḥ*). The expression *Kali-guṇa-dōsh-āvaraṇa-dharma-uddharaṇa-arthya-samudbha* which is applied to Pallava kings in later Sanskrit charters conveys the same idea.

[15] For the construction, see the discussion above, pp. 141-2.

Pravarasēna (I), the *Samrāṭ* and the son (*i.e.*, a descendant) of Hāritī,[1] (who was) of the Vṛishṇivṛiddha *gōtra* and who performed Agnishṭōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishṭōma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas[2]—

(Ll. 5—7) The **Ājñapti**[3] and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments[4] as well as other touring (*officials*) of noble birth in (*the village*) **Ākāsapadda** (*which is situated*) near Tākālakkhoppaka on the northern road from Nāndikaḍa should be caused to be addressed (*as follows*)—

(Ll. 7—19) For Our victory (*in war*)[5], for the increase of (*Our*) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (*for Us*) and for religious merit in this and the next world, We have now granted this village to (*the following members of*) the Ātharvaṇika *charaṇa*[6] in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (*in the following proportion, viz.,*) three parts, (*in figure*) 3, (*of it*) to these (*following*) Brāhmaṇas—half (*a share*)[7] (*being given*) to Jīvajja (Jīvārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddajja (Rudrārya) of the Kapiñjala *gōtra*, to Bhāṭṭidevajja (Bhartṛidēvārya) of the Śrāvishṭhāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Veṇhujja (Vishṇvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vīdhijja (Vīdhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitryārya) of the Paippalādi *gōtra*, to Chāndaja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, (*and*) to Jeṭṭhaja (Jyēshṭhārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (*and*) two shares (*being given*) to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilajja (Bhadrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (*and*) to Hariṇṇaja (Hiraṇyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (*in figure*) 1, to Revatīja (Rēvatyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*.

(Ll. 19—24) And we grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it (*which are*) incident to a village belonging to Brāhmaṇas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by the former kings, *viz.*, it is to be exempt from (*the entrance of*) the District Police;[8] it is to be exempt from the purchase and digging of salt; it is to be exempt from the presents[9] of gold and grain; it does not entitle (*the State*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milk[10], (*and*) to the customary cows

[1] Hāritī was a sage from whom the Kadambas and the Chālukyas also traced their descent. See, *e.g.*, the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman, above, Vol VIII, p. 31 and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangaléśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

[2] This record mentions Jyōtishṭōma in place of Ukthya, Shōḍaśin and Atirātra which are mentioned in ot er Vākāṭaka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I.

[3] *Āṇatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is mentioned at the close of many records and corresponds to the *Dūtaka* who also figures in other inscriptions in the same capacity. He was entrusted with the execution of the royal order.

[4] The usual expression in other Vākāṭaka records is *Sarv-ādhyakṣha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ* 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent.'

[5] In other Vākāṭaka records *vijayiki* qualifies *dharma-sthāni* and the whole expression means 'at our victorious place of religious worship'. The Deoṭek stone inscription mentions a *dharma-sthāna* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I.

[6] That is, of the Atharvavēda.

[7] See above, p. 139, n. 9.

[8] We follow Senart in the explanation of *a-ratṭha-sañcharayiṭa*, see above, Vol. VII, pp. 65-66.

[9] *Pasaya* seems to mean a customary present or nazarāna offered to the king. See *praṇaya-kriyā* in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

[10] These were taxes in kind paid to the State, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

and bullocks[1]; it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal[2]; it is not to be entered by soldiers; it is not to provide cots, water-pots[3] and servants; it is exempt from taxes; it is not to provide horses[4]; it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes[5] and to platforms and important documents[6](?); and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds.

(Ll. 24—28) Wherefore, you protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, not repressing the order written above[7].

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmaṇas who have taken offence, we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Ll. 28—30) **In the year 30 (and) 7, in the first fortnight of winter, the day 4.** In Our presence[8], this order has been written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu).

May there be success!

NO. 21.—KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Nagpur.

The existence of these plates was brought to my notice by my friend and former student Dr. W. S. Barlinge who had seen them when they were brought to Nagpur in March 1940. At my request Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., Joint Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, very kindly caused a search for them to be instituted. They were ultimately traced by Mr. V. H. Mujumdar, Naib Tahsildar of Hiṅgaṇghāṭ, at the instance of Mr. B. A. Smellie, Deputy Commissioner of Wardhā. They were found in the possession of Mr. Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village about 7 miles north by east of

[1] The expression *a-prasnpara-pi-baliwadda* in l. 21 corresponds to *a-pāraṇjara-baliwadda-pahuṇa* of the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates and *a-paraṇpaṇā-ḍaliva[daṇa]* of the Mayidavōlu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes, a small tax, called *prayāṇa-daṇḍa* was levied for the purpose. See *Rāja-śēṣakāṇāṁ rasati-daṇḍa-prayāṇa-daṇḍas na staḥ* in the Paithaṇ grant of Rāmachandra, *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XIV, p. 318. But the use of the word *gō* in addition to *baliwadda* in Vākāṭaka grants rather indicates that the village was exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. The *Manusmṛiti* (*adhyāya* VII, v. 130) also mentions a tax on cattle.

[2] This and similar expressions which follow exempt the donee from the obligation of supplying grass for feeding horses, hides (which were used as seats, cf. *ājina-charmas* in the grants of Pravarasēna II), charcoal for cooking, cots, water-pots, servants and draught cattle, for the royal officers when they were encamped in the village during their tours.

[3] *Chōḷaka* is plainly identical with *chōḷaka* in the Mayidavōlu plates and *gollaka* in the Hīraḥaḍagalli plates. Hultzsch derives *chōḷlaka* from *chullaḥ*, a kind of water-pot. *Vesasika* corresponds to *viṇ̇ṭi* in the Mayidavōlu and *viṇ̇ṭi* in the Hīraḥaḍagalli plates. This word is omitted in the translations of Bühler and Hultzsch. We derive it from the Sanskrit *vaināśika* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent, or a subject.' The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here.

[4] Lexicons give *vaḥa* in the sense of a horse.

[5] See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

[6] We are not certain about the meaning of this expression.

[7] [Or 'abiding by the order written above'. *Śāsana-vāda* here and *vachana* in l. 5 above imply the same thing. See p. 153, n. 4.—B. C. C.]

[8] This corresponds to *āṇṇā sayaṇ̇* 'Our own order' in the Tirōḍi plates. Cf. *sayaṇ̇-āṇattaṇ* and *āṇaḥ sayaṇ̇-ti dattā* in the Hīraḥaḍagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

Hiṅganghāṭ, in the Hiṅganghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District. In November 1940 the plates were sent to the Nagpur Museum where they were cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin Expert of the Museum. For the excellent facsimiles which accompany this article I am obliged to Mr. Suboor who copied the plates at the Government Press, Nagpur. I have also to thank Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Nagpur Museum, for his kind help in discovering this interesting record.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 8" by 4·11". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and there is consequently no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185½ *tolas* and that of the ring is 16 *tolas*.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and resemble those of the other grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. The following peculiarities may be noted: the box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top, see *mahārāja-* in ll. 7 and 8; in some other cases the box is not added at all, see *mahārāja-* in l. 14; the sign of the *upadhmānīya* which occurs in ll. 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box at the top which is not noticed in other records; final *m* which is written in a smaller size has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *dṛishṭam*, both in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is shown by a crescent and the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; *kh* is without a loop at the bottom[1] in both the places where it occurs, see *khanaka-*, l. 27 and *likhita*, l. 36; the lingual *ḍ* is distinguished from the dental *d* in *daṇḍa*, l. 11, but not in *Maṇḍuki-*, l. 18 and *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 19; the subscript *t* is, in some cases, looped, but as in the Bēlorā plates[2] the loop is elongated in order to distinguish it from *n*, see *bhaktasya*, l. 4 and *tvittēr-*, l. 12; finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation which is redundant in most cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for an imprecatory verse in ll. 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. Like other Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions it contains some mistakes of grammar and orthography which are corrected in the subjoined text and the foot-notes added to it. As regards **orthography**, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, l. 5 and *mūrddh-*, l. 6; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgiratthy-*, l. 6 and *visarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in ll. 13, 15 and 33.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present record opens with the word *dṛishṭam* 'seen'. The plates were issued by **Pravarasēna** II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from **Nandivardhana**. His genealogy is traced here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta** II being called **Dēvagupta**. It may, however, be noted that the present plates spell some proper names somewhat differently from other Vākāṭaka records discovered so far. The medial *i* of *ti* in *Prabhāvatiguptā*, for instance, is invariably short in all the records discovered till now and the shortening can be justified by a grammatical rule,[3] but the present plates read in l. 15 *Prabhāvatīguptā* quite clearly. Similarly *vī* in *Pṛithivīshēṇa* has a long medial vowel here, whereas it is usually short in other records.[4]

[1] In other grants of Pravarasēna II, *kh* has a loop at the bottom, see, *e.g.*, *likhitam* in l. 35 of the Sīwani plates, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXV; but it is noteworthy that in the Chammak plates issued in the same regnal year it is unlooped, see *khanaka-*, l. 28, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 260.

[3] Above, Vol. XV, p. 42, n. 10. See Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63.

[4] In the Bēlorā plates (Set A) the medial *ī* of *vī* is long as here. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 264.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Kōthuraka** which was situated in the territorial division (*āhāra*) of **Supratishṭha**. The village lay to the west of the Umā river, to the north of Chiñchāpallī, to the east of Bōnthikavāṭaka and to the south of Maṇḍukigrāma. The donee was the celibate Brāhmaṇa Kāluṭṭaka who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black Yajurvēda. The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharma-sthānē*)[1] and is dated on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the second regnal year. The *dūtaka* was Chakradēva and the scribe Nāgavarman. Neither of these is known from any other Vākāṭaka grant.

The grant recorded on the Bēlorā plates (Set B), discovered two years ago, was so far the earliest one of Pravarasēna II, being dated in his eleventh regnal year. The present grant is still earlier, as it was made in the second year after his accession. It has fully confirmed some of the conclusions drawn from the Bēlorā plates. **There is now no doubt that Pravarasēna II was different from Divākarasēna**, the *Yuvarāja*, for whom his mother Prabhāvatīguptā was acting as a regent even in the thirteenth year after his accession as a boy-prince.[2] Again, like the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[3] and the Bēlorā plates (Set A) of Pravarasēna II, the present plates also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, undoubtedly the earlier capital of the Vākāṭakas before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasēna II. As these plates were issued in the beginning of Pravarasēna's reign, they do not enable us to state when the capital was shifted to Pravarapura.

The donee of the present plates is called *gaṇa-yājin*. It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gaṇa-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The term *gaṇa-yāga* can, however, be variously interpreted. It may mean a sacrifice performed for a *gaṇa* or guild. Such sacrifices performed for a multitude of men were, however, discouraged in ancient times. Both Manu and Vishṇu regard the Brāhmaṇas who officiated at such sacrifices as unfit for invitation to a *śrāddha*.[4] As the present grant was made by a king and not by a guild, this meaning of *gaṇa-yāga* is evidently inapplicable here. The *Vāchaspatya* explains *gaṇayajña* as a sacrifice performed by a number of brothers and sisters and cites *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* 22, 11, 12 and 25, 13, 29 in support of this interpretation. But this explanation also is unlikely in the present case. The *Manusmṛiti* (III, 164) enjoins that the priest who offers sacrifices to Gaṇas should be avoided at a *śrāddha*. The expression *gaṇānāṁ yājakaḥ* is variously taken by the commentators of Manu. Nārāyaṇa and Nandana take it to mean one who sacrifices for *gaṇas*, *i.e.*, many persons or guilds, but such persons are already excluded by *Manusmṛiti* III, 151. Other commentators including Mēdhātithi and Kullūka think that Vināyaka- or Gaṇēśa-hōma may be meant by *gaṇa-yāga*. The *Mānava-Gṛihyasūtra* (II, 14) and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (I, 271 ff.) mention almost in identical terms a rite for the

[1] I have pointed out before that this expression invariably occurs in the grants of Pravarasēna II, which were made at the capital. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

[2] See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 262.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. Both the Poona and the Bēlorā plates spell the name of this place as *Nāndivardhana* with a long medial vowel in *nā* which led Dr. Randle to think that the place might be different from the Nandivardhana mentioned in the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman (above, Vol. XIX, p. 102). See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 177. The place-name is spelt here exactly as in Bhavadattavarman's plates.

[4] *Manusmṛiti*, III, 151; *Vishnusmṛiti*, LXXXII, 8-9. A passage from the *Yamasmṛiti* cited in the *Parāśara-Dharmasaṁhitā* (Bom. Sanskrit Series, No. XLVIII, p. 358) mentions *śrāddha-pūjaka-yājakāḥ* in the same context.

propitiation of Vināyakas,[1] but it is not known if the priest who performed the rite incurred any guilt. Dr. Bühler's suggestion,[2] therefore, that the reference in *Manusmṛiti* III, 164, may be to the *gaṇa-hōmas* mentioned by *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* appears to be preferable. Baudhāyana lays down the following procedure for the performance of the *gaṇa-hōmas*.[3] A person who has purified himself by certain restraints should after fasting for three days and nights commence the performance of the sacred rite, making offerings of boiled rice and clarified butter and reciting certain *mantras* in the morning, at midday and in the evening. At the end of one week during which these *hōmas* are continued, he should feed Brāhmaṇas, and distribute to them cows, land, sesamum and gold. These *gaṇa-hōmas* are to be performed by a person for himself. A Brāhmaṇa is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else. If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Baudhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that 'through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it; a man need not torment himself.' This means, as explained by the commentator Gōvindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt.[4] This explains why the priests who performed *gaṇa-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha*. Naturally few people must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward. The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse.[5] The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gaṇa-hōma* for Pravarasēna II from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** has already been identified with Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmṭek in the Nāgpur District. **Kōthuraka**, the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to be occupied by Mangaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions. Thus **Chiñchāpalli** is Chicholi which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Mangaon; **Bōnthikavāṭaka** is now called Bōthaḍ and **Maṇḍukigrāma**, Māṇḍgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Mangaon. The *Wardhā District Gazetteer* records a tradition that Māṇḍgaon is named after one Māṇḍo Ṛishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river.[6] The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place was Maṇḍukigrāma. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the **Umā** river which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā. No place exactly corresponding to **Supratishṭha**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which these villages were situated, can now be traced, but it seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil*. This *āhāra* was already known from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, but no clue to its identification was so far available. It is now furnished by the present plates.

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism etc.*, pp. 147 ff. Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, adhyāya II (Sudhākar Dwivedī's ed., Vol. I, p. 91) also mentions *gaṇa-gōgus* which the commentator Bhaṭṭōpala explains as *gaṇānāṁ-pūjana*, the worship of the demigods called *gaṇyakas*.

[2] See his *Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 106.

[3] *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, Prasna IV, adhyāyas 7 and 8. See Bühler's translation in S. B. E., Vol. XIV, pp. 329 ff.

[4] See Gōvindasvāmin's commentary on *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 8, 9.

[5] *Wardhā District Gazetteer*, (1906), p. 250.

which show that Prabhāvatīguptā's plates, though discovered in far-off Poona, originally belonged to the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *taksil*.[1] These plates record the grant of the village Daṅguṇa which was situated in the Supratishṭhāhāra and lay to the east of Vilavaṇaka, to the south of Śīrshagrāma, to the west of Kadāpiñjana and to the north of Sidivivaṇaka. None of these places have been identified so far. Two of them I have been able to trace in the vicinity of Hiṅgaṇghāṭ. Vilavaṇaka seems to be Vaṇi, about 2½ miles to the west and Kadāpiñjana may be Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hiṅgaṇghāṭ. Hiṅgaṇghāṭ seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village Daṅguṇa. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hiṅgaṇ in course of time, *ghāṭ* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā. It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavaḍghāṭ on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāṭ*.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 द्रि(द्वि)ष्टम् [।*] सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्त(स्ति) नन्दिवर्द्धना[त् ।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यतिरात्र-

2 वाजपेयबृहस्प(स्प)तिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः[3] विष्णुवृद्ध-

3 गोत्रस्य सम्राट्[4] वाकाटकानामहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनोः[5]

4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमाहेश्वरभक्तस्य ॥[6] असंभार[7]संविवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-

5 [द्भ]वनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम् पराक्रमाधिगतभागो-

6 रत्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां(नां) भारशिवानां

Second Plate; First Side.

7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य [।[8] वाकाट-

8 कानामहाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य ॥[9]

9 सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व)-

10 पात्रगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्ल्यादिगुणैरमु-

[1] The coppersmith with whom the plates were found originally hailed from Ahmednagar. See above, Vol. XV, p. 39.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Here and in many places below, rules of sandhi have not been observed.

[4] Read *Samrāṭ*.

[5] Read *sūnāḥ sūnōḥ*.

[6] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[7] The anusvāra is misplaced. Read *aṁsa-bhāra*.

[8] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 पेतस्य ॥[1] व[र्ष]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-

12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[:] युधिष्ठिरवत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवी-

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 सेनस्य[2] सूनोर्ब्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेरप्रसादा(दो)पार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

14 महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

15 सुताय(यां) प्रभावतीगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ॥[3] शम्भोरप्रसादधृति(ति)कार्ष्ण-

16 युगस्य ।[4] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-

17 स्य वचना[त्*] । सुप्रतिष्ठाह(क्षा)रे ।[4] उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे । चिंचापल्या[5]

18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।[4] वोत्थिकवाटकस्य ।[4] पूर्व्वे पार्श्वे ।[4] मण्डुकिग्रामस्य

Third Plate; First Side.

19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।[4] कोथुरकग्रामयामः कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।[4] तैत्तिरिक[6]गणयाज्ञि-

20 कालुष्टकब्रह्मचारिणे दत्ताः[7] [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वाद्यचनियोगनियुक्ता

21 आज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भट्टा[8]ध्यक्षाश्च विधुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञापयि-

22 तव्या[9] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्ब्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि-

23 वृद्धये इहामुत्रचिरार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्म्म(र्म्मा)ख्याने अपूर्व्वद-

24 त्त्या(त्त्वा) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः [।*] यथास्योपचिता[10] पूर्व्वराजानुमताश्चातुर्व्वेद्य-

Third Plate; Second Side.

25 ग्राममर्य्यादान्वितराम[11]स्तद्यथा अकरदायि[10] अभटच्छत्र[11]प्रवेश्यः[:] अपा-

26 रम्परगोबलवर्द्द[:][12] अपुष्पत्तीरमन्दोङ्ग[:*] अवा(चा)रासनचर्म्माङ्गार[:*] अल-

[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[2] Read *Śrī-Pṛithivīshēṇasya*.
[3] Read *Chinchāpallyā*.
[4] Read *Traiṭirīya-*.
[5] Read *dattāḥ*.
[6] Read *bhaṭṭa-* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
[7] Read *vidita-pūrvaṃ-vijñāpayitavyāḥ*.
[8] Read *°ṣy-ōchchhēda-*.
[9] Read *sarvvāsāṃ eitarāsāṃ-*.
[10] Read *akara-dāyi*.
[11] Read *-chchhatra-* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
[12] Read *-balīvarddaḥ*.

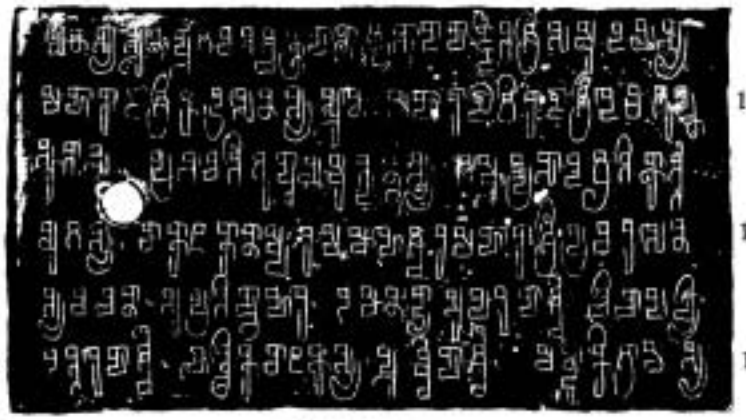
i.



ii,a.



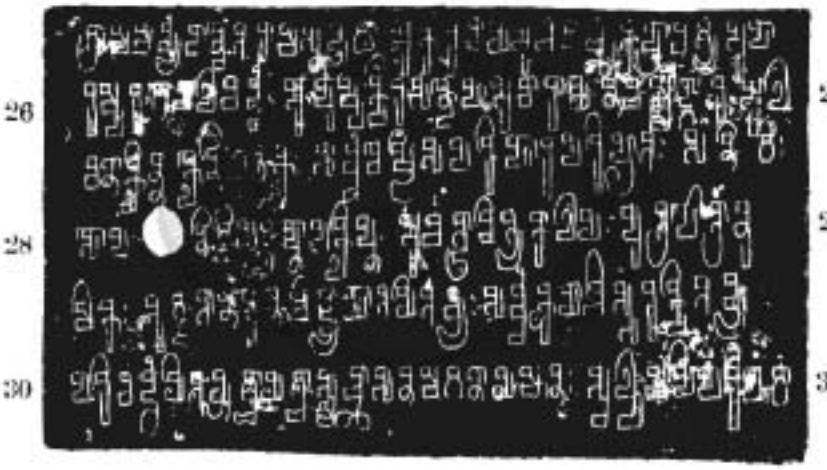
ii,b.



iii,a.



iii,b.



iv.



27 वणक्रिअक्रेनोखनकः[1] सर्व्वेपेष्टिसपरिहार[2]परिछतः सनिधिः

28 सोपनिधि[:*] सक्रिसोपक्रिअ[3][:] आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(ली)यः पुत्रपौत्रान्[गा*]-

29 मिकः भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्यः सर्व्वक्रयाभि[4]स्मंरक्षितव्य[:*]

30 परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्चा(च) [।*] यश्चान्यच्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिबाधां

Fourth Plate.

31 कुर्य्यात्कारयित वा[5] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वंदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं कुर्य्याम ॥

32 अस्मिंच धर्म्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां सद्भिन्तनपरिपालन[6]

33 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयामः [।*] व्यासगि(गी)तञ्चात्र श्लोक[7]प्रमाणो-

34 कर्त्तव्य[:] [।*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा[म्*] । गवां शत-
सहस्रस्य

35 हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतं(तम्)[8] । [।१॥*] संवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुज[9]मासशुक्लदादश्या(श्यां) ।[10]

36 चक्रदेवदूतकः[11] नागवर्म्मणा लिखित[म्*] । ॥ * ॥[12]

No. 22.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF THREE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS.

By the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

Indra III—A. D. 915-27 (?)

The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III had the distinctive title of 'Nityavarsha', while his son Gōvinda IV had the titles of 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha'. The earliest record in which this Prabhūtavarsha (*i. e.*, Gōvinda IV) figures is one from Daṇḍāpur[12] in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, which is dated in Śaka 840 (expired), Pramāthin, Makara-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding

[1] Read *-krēṇi-khanakaḥ*.
[2] Read *sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra*.
[3] Read *sa-kṣipt-ōpakṣiptaḥ*.
[4] Read *sarvva-kriyābhiḥ*.
[5] Read *kārayēd-vā*.
[6] Read *-rāja-datta-sachchhāsana-paripālanam*.
[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.
[8] Read *Āśvayuja-*
[9] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[10] Read *Chakkradēva-dūtakam*.
[11] There is a floral design between these two sets of dandas.
[12] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 222, and B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

to A. D. 918, December 23, while the latest date Śaka 857 (wrong for Śaka 856), Vijaya, corresponding to A. D. 933-34 is furnished by three records[1] from Honnāḷi in the Mysore State. On the strength of these, Mr. Altekar has concluded[2] that Indra III had died in about A. D. 917 and that Gōvinda IV, who succeeded him, probably after a short rule of one year of his elder brother Amōghavarsha II, had actually reigned for about 15 years from A. D. 919 to 934.

This statement seems to require modification in the light of some other inscriptions of Indra III which have been copied from the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts of the Madras Presidency and from Bombay-Karnāṭak. One of these from Kuḍatani[3] in the Bellary District is dated in Vikrama, which corresponded to Śaka [842], (=A. D. 920-21). Another from Kaḍabagere[4] in the same district belonging to the reign of Nityavarsha Indra-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 844, Chitrabhānu, corresponding to A. D. 922, September 9. A third from Asundi[5] in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, belonging to a Nityavarsha, bears the Śaka year 847 and the cyclic year Pārthiva (=A. D. 925-26). One other record[6] of the same Nityavarsha from Hālaharavi in the Bellary District is stated to be dated in the same cyclic year Pārthiva, but the Śaka year appears to have been wrongly quoted therein as 854. Yet another record[7] recently copied from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District, furnishes for Nityavarsha Indra-narēndra the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa. The actual wording is as follows:

Svasti[||*] **Nityavarsha** Pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka-ōttarōttarābhivṛiddhi-pravardhamāna-vijaya-Mahāraṭṭa-rājyado[=**Indra-narēndrana** rājyaṁ saluttire Pallavadhiram Mu[ki-aynūṟuvan-ā]luttire Svasti samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda mahāsāmantaṁ vikrānta-Rāman vikrānta-Bhīman.....Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ=eṇṭunūṟa-nālvatt-eṇṭaneya Pārtthiva-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise tadvarsh-ābhyantar-ōttarāyaṇa-saṅkrāntiy-andu etc.

The full astronomical details of the date are not given, but the date may be equated to A. D. 925, December 23. From the Bombay-Karnāṭak come two records[8] belonging to a Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha, of which one from Gadag in the Dharwar District is dated in Śaka 840, Bahudhānya, corresponding to A. D. 918, July 18. From the distinctive title 'Nityavarsha',[9] it may be assigned to Indra III himself, for whom therefore the new title of 'Nirupama' appears to be indicated in this epigraph. If this is accepted, the other record of the same king Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha from Haḷeritti dated in Śaka 850, Sarvadhāri, Pushya=A. D. 927, December, may also be considered to belong to Indra III, in which case Śaka 850 will be the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hn. 21 to 23.

[2] *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 105.

[3] No. 47 of 1904 of the Madras Epigl. collection.

[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 57.

[5] B. K. No. 162 of 1926-27.

[6] No. 540 of 1915 of the Mad. Epigl. colln. In *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 62, this record has been taken to be one of Gōvinda IV, taking the Śaka year as correct and the cyclic year Pārthiva as wrong; but the latter has been taken as correct above, the Śaka year 854 being considered as wrongly quoted instead of Śaka 847.

[7] No. 235 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

[8] Nos. 184 of 1932-33 and 47 of 1933-34 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection.

[9] In para. 38 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1916, it has been suggested that Nityavarsha was probably a title of Gōvinda IV, like that of his father Indra III, on the consideration that No. 540 of 1915 dated in Śaka 854, Pārthiva, could belong to the former only. Taking Pārthiva as correct and equating it to Śaka 847 and not 854, the record may be taken to belong to Indra III, for whom the Kamalāpuram inscription (No. 235 of 1937-38) furnishes the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva. There does not seem to be therefore any necessity for postulating the title of 'Nityavarsha' to Gōvinda IV, for whom the titles known are 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha' only.

latest date known so far for him. It is therefore possible that **Nityavarsha Indra III, whose date of accession[1] was February 24, A. D. 915, actually reigned till at least the end of A. D. 927.** He may have continued for some time longer.

Gōvinda IV (A. D. 930–34).

The Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV[2] dated in Śaka 852=(May 10, A. D. 930), contain an important item of information which, in the light of the facts noted above, receives a new significance. It is stated therein that when the king, having come from his capital Mānyakhēṭa, was staying at a village called Kapitthakā on the day specified, on the occasion of the *paṭṭabandha* festival, he performed the great *tulābhāra* ceremony and also made munificent donations to Brāhmans and temples. In fact his gifts to Brāhmans are stated to have been as many as 600 *agrahāras* and 3,00,000 *suvarṇas*, while those to temples aggregated to 800 villages and 4,00,000 *suvarṇas* and 32,00,000 *drammas* in coin. Even allowing for an excusable exaggeration in regard to these details, such exuberant liberality was hardly rivalled by any other Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign.

Dr. Bhandarkar who has edited these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*[3] has argued that the *paṭṭabandha* cannot refer to a royal coronation ceremony, for the reasons that Gōvinda figures in an inscription of A. D. 918, that it is unnatural to expect that the king will have gone to a village away from his capital for the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, and that the period of 11 years from A. D. 919 to A. D. 930 is too great an interval for Gōvinda to have continued simply as an heir-apparent. In view, however, of the discovery of distinct records dated in A. D. 922 and 925, and possibly also in A. D. 927 for Indra III, as pointed out above, the event glorified in the Cambay plates may very reasonably be considered to have been the coronation of Gōvinda IV himself, the magnitude of the gifts detailed therein indicating clearly an occasion of considerable importance. It may be noted that Indra III also celebrated his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony at a village named Kurundaka, as stated in the Nausārī copper-plate grant[4] of this king dated in A. D. 915, and that even longer terms of heir-apparency are not unknown, for to quote but one instance, the Chōḷa prince Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1018-53) was a crown-prince for over 26 years till A. D. 1044, before he became the reigning king. The inference seems therefore to be warranted that Indra III continued to reign as king till at least A. D. 927, and that Gōvinda IV succeeded to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne in May, A. D. 930, after a short interval of a year or so, in which his elder brother Amōghavarsha II had perhaps reigned, as indicated by the statement in the Bhadana plates[5] of Aparājita-Śilāhāra.

In this case, one small point seems to require elucidation as to why, while an elder son was living, the younger Gōvinda should have been chosen heir-apparent in about A. D. 918, whereas Amōghavarsha's claim for succession should have been recognised only later at the time of Indra's death. It must have been this acknowledgment of the rightful claim of Amōghavarsha that appears to have incited the darker traits in Gōvinda's character; for if the sententious denials made in the Sāṅgli plates that Gōvinda 'did not act cruelly towards his elder brother' mean anything, they seem to indicate that Gōvinda may have indirectly helped in the removal of his elder brother, whose existence had barred his way to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne.

[1] Nausārī copper-plate referred to in the *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27, f. n. 2.

[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415. According to the Bagumrā plates, Indra III performed a *tulāpuruṣa-dāna* at a village named Kurundaka (*ante*, Vol. IX, p. 24).

[5] Quoted in Altekar, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

The actual reign of Gōvinda IV is thus reduced to a short period of about four years only—**from May, A. D. 930 to the middle of A. D. 934.** Owing to his wicked life, this king, it is stated, was very unpopular, and his ministers and feudatories[1] conspired to oust him. The Eastern Chāḷukya king Bhīma II claims to have defeated the army of Gōvinda IV in about the year A. D. 934[2]; and this defeat must have been the signal for the discontented elements at the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital to flare up into activity. The result was that Gōvinda was deposed, and Amōghavarsha III, an uncle of Gōvinda in a collateral line, a religious man already well-advanced in years,[3] was chosen by the feudatories to be the king. It is not definitely stated anywhere that Gōvinda died on this occasion—he may perhaps have lived some years longer; but his career as a Rāshṭrakūṭa king probably ended with A. D. 934.

Kṛishṇa III (A. D. 939-67).

The records of Kṛishṇa III found in the Kannaḍa country are most of them dated in Śaka years, while his numerous Tamiḷ records in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, following apparently the procedure in vogue in the Tamiḷ districts, mention only his regnal years. However, an inscription from Pādūr[4] in the Tirukkōyilūr Taluk of the South Arcot District is of interest in this connection, as quoting his **regnal year 26**, coupled with the astronomical details—**Vṛiśchika, ba. 3, Wednesday, Mṛigaśirsha.** Even here the omission of the Śaka and the cyclic years is unfortunate, but the English equivalent can, however, be calculated.

Now, Amōghavarsha III, the father and predecessor of Kṛishṇa III, was alive on December 3, A. D. 939.[5] So the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of this date, and his 26th year would fall in the interval between A. D. 960 and 970. On verification it is found that **A. D. 964, October 26, Wednesday,**[6] and no other date in this interval, agrees so well with the given details. This being a day in the 26th regnal year of the king, the **date of his accession must have been some day between October 27, A. D. 938 and October 26, A. D. 939.**

As stated already, Kṛishṇa's predecessor Amōghavarsha was alive on December 3, A. D. 939. If so, how can the date of accession of his successor Kṛishṇa III be some date prior to October 27, of the same year? For this to be possible, we shall have to suppose that Kṛishṇa had been formally anointed *yuvarāja* during the last days of his father himself; and when we take into consideration the fact that Amōghavarsha III was already a man of advanced age with a deeply religious bent of mind at the time of his selection as king, there is nothing out of the ordinary in his having associated his son Kṛishṇa along with himself in the administration, and in his having actually anointed him some time prior to his own demise. A record[7] from the Sorab Taluk of the Mysore State furnishes Śaka 861 (=A. D. 939), December 23rd, as the earliest date for Kṛishṇa III with the imperial titles. The Dēōlī plates[8] dated approximately on 30th April A. D. 940, mention that Kṛishṇa succeeded to the throne only after Amōghavarsha's death and

[1] Among such feudatories the Chāḷukya chieftain Arikēsarin, the patron of the poet Pampa, was one—*Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 34.

[2] The Kaluchumbarru grant of Ammarāja II, *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 177.

[3] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 111.

[4] No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] Isāmudra inscription dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin=A. D. 939, December 3 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 77).

[6] According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* was current till '54 and the *nakshatra* till '48 of the day. (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1936-37, p. 47).

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 476. The details are Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇa, Monday=A.D. 939, December 23, Monday.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 188.

this statement is not in conflict with what had been said above; for Kṛishṇa's actual coronation as 'king' must have occurred only after the death of Amōghavarsha sometime towards the end of A. D. 939, though he may have been anointed *yuvarāja* a few months earlier, and calculated the subsequent dates of his reign retrospectively from this initial date.

The two limits, namely, October 27, A.D. 938, and October 26, A. D. 939, between which the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III fell may therefore be accepted. They may, however, be narrowed down somewhat.

As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has shown above, Vol. XXI, p. 252, Kṛishṇa must have passed away a short time prior to February, A. D. 967, (*i.e.*) towards the end of A.D. 966 or in the beginning of A. D. 967. It may therefore be inferred that the accession of Kṛishṇa III was calculated from August or September A.D. 939, though his actual coronation as 'king' took place only in December of that year, that he reigned for 27 full years and a portion of the 28th year, and that his death may have occurred in about December, A. D. 966, or January A. D. 967.[1]

No. 23.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN.

By C. C. Das Gupta, M.A.

This set of copper-plates was found in a village of the Badakhimedi estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency and was acquired, along with eight other similar sets, for the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi. Two of the nine sets belong to the Gaṅga king Indravarman[2], one of which has already been edited by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharyya of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum[3]. The other I edit here, with the kind permission of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Officiating Superintendent of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This set consists of **three copper-plates**, each measuring $7'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, strung together by means of a copper-ring at their one end which was held by a **seal** of $1\frac{1}{2}''$ diameter marked with the figure of a couchant bull. Altogether they weigh 89 *tolas* including the ring. The first plate is engraved on one side only, the second and third on both their sides. The inscription consists of 40 lines, each side of the plates containing 9 lines except the last which contains only 4 lines.

[1] In a long footnote Mr. Altekar has tried to fix the period of Kṛishṇa's reign (*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 122, 123); but he has taken the Kūḍūr record to be dated in the 30th year (instead of 20th, as revised). He has also equated the details of the Koḷagallu record (No. 236 of 1913) to A. D. 968, February 17th, instead of A. D. 967, February 17th, as calculated in *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 262. It may be noted that an inscription from the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Hoḷalkere 23) of the reign of Akālavarsha Pṛithivīvallabha is dated in Śaka 891, Vibhava. The astronomical details therein do not work correctly for Vibhava. Further as Kṛishṇa is stated to have died at the time of the Koḷagallu inscription (17th February, 967) the Hoḷalkere record of a later date for him is inexplicable. There seems to be some mistake either in the actual year quoted in this document, or there must have been some jumbling of the southern and northern cycles of reckoning. Records of Khoṭṭiga dated in Śaka 890, Prabhava, and Śaka 890, Vibhava, are known (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531 and *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50).

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 110, F. & G. Of the nine sets of copper-plates the other eight have already been edited. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff., pp. 78 ff., pp. 141 ff., pp. 261 ff., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 120 ff.).

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

The **characters** used in this inscription belong to the South Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.[1] With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be pointed out that *ē*, *t*, *th*, *p* and *v* have two signs each, as found in the following examples: *viśhaē* (l. 9) and *ētad* (l. 13); °*vatas*- (l. 1) and °*vātaḥ* (l. 22); *vātha* (l. 6) and °*thivi* (l. 9); *parama* (l. 8) and *prati*° (l. 28); °*vatas*- (l. 1) and °*vāsinaḥ* (l. 3). Besides *d* and *n* have three forms each, as found in the following examples: *pādā*° (l. 6), *khātādi* (l. 15) and *parada*° (l. 28); *nivā*° (l. 3), *nichaya* (l. 4) and °*nēka* (l. 7). So far as the medial vowels are concerned, *ā* has five signs as found in *Śvētkā* (l. 1), *kāraṇa* (l. 2), *bhaṭṭā*° (l. 3), *sāmanta* (l. 4), °*dhyātō* (l. 6); *i* three signs as found in *svasti* (l. 1), *shatki* (l. 4), *giri* (l. 6); *ī* two signs as in *Kalī*° (l. 5), *kīrti* (l. 18); *u* three different signs as in *bhuja* (l. 4), °*mātyu*° (l. 11), *bhatvā* (l. 26); *ē* three signs as found in *Śvētkā* (l. 1), *śēsha* (l. 4), *vadhē* (l. 15); *ai* two signs as found in *kaidi*° (l. 15), *vāruṇai* (l. 30); *ō* six signs as found in *gurō* (l. 1), *kētōr*- (l. 2), *Kōlāmla* (l. 6), *grāmō*° (l. 13), *Gōsvā*° (l. 17), *yōnyāñ*- (l. 30); *au* two signs as found in *gauravāt* (l. 22), *gau*° (l. 22). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except that eight of the customary verses occur in ll. 23—34. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: (1) In certain cases *a* is used instead of *ā* as in *akshēptā* (l. 27). (2) *u* has been wrongly placed instead of *au* as it is found in *uḍhaū* (l. 29). (3) In *viśhaē* (l. 9), the vowel *ē* is substituted for *yē*. (4) Sometimes the letter *ñ* is wrongly used instead of *ś*, as in °*tañ-cha* (l. 14). (5) In l. 12 the form *rāṣṭra* has been used for Sanskrit *rāshṭra* apparently due to the influence of the local dialect. (6) Sometimes *ṭ* has wrongly given place to *ṭh*, as in *śashṭhim* (l. 26). (7) *n* is used instead of *ṇ* as in *Gōkarnē*° (l. 3). (8) As in many other inscriptions of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. (9) *ś* is wrongly used for *s* and *sh* as in °*kaśya* (l. 3) and *śashṭhim* (l. 26) respectively. (10) *sh* is wrongly used for *ś* and *s* as is found in *shatki* (l. 4) and *shaṭila* (l. 20) respectively. (11) *s* is wrongly used for *sh* and *ś* as in °*ghōsa* (l. 7) and *dasa* (l. 15) respectively. (12) *Anusvāra* is wrongly dropped as in *bhavatā* (l. 13) and also wrongly used as in *saṁvāhā* (l. 24). (13) In the like manner *visarga* is sometimes omitted, as after *nichaya* (l. 4) while it is also wrongly used as in *vaḥubhiḥ* (l. 23). Other errors in writing have been noticed in the text or the footnotes accompanying it.

Indravarman mentioned in this inscription is the same as Indravarman noted in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates[2] on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in both these inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of both these inscriptions are of the same nature. Thirdly, both were issued from Śvētaka, written by Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Svayambhu. If we study the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman,[3] the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman[4] and the present record, then we can form the following genealogical table:—

Mahēndravarman
|
Pṛithivīvarman
|
Indravarman-Gōsvāmīnī

[1] There is a great similarity between this inscription and the plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 285 ff.) which, from the palæographical point of view, have been rightly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. The Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.) who is the father of Indravarman mentioned in this and the other set of copper-plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) should necessarily be ascribed to the 10th or the latter half of the 9th century A.D. and not to the 12th or 13th century as suggested with a doubt by Kielhorn nor to the 12th century as held by Mr. Bhattacharyya.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

The fact that Indravarman had a younger brother named Dānārṇava who succeeded him to the throne may be proved in the following way. It is apparent that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhaṭṭa Bōdhana of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the *Chhāndōgya charaṇa*, the donee in one of the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman[1] is the same as *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant, coming likewise from the Badakhimedi estate[2], as the names of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* are the same as in the former. The grantor in the first record is Indravarman while in the second it is Dānārṇava, both of them being the sons of Pṛithivīvarman. From the above facts it may be concluded that Indravarman and Dānārṇava are brothers. There is still further evidence to show that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava. In the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman the writer and the engraver of the grant are respectively *Saṁdhivigrahin* Śrī Sāmanta and *kāṁsyakāra* Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu.[3] These two persons also figure in the same capacity in both the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman, one of them being under discussion, but not in the grant of Dānārṇava. This proves that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava, because had it been exactly opposite, then the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant would have been those whom we have found in the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman. Thus the genealogy of this royal family taking the grant of Dānārṇava into consideration will be as follows :—

Mahīndravarman
|
Pṛithivīvarman
|
Indravarman=Gōvāminī — Dānārṇava.[4]

The **object** of this inscription is to record a gift of land, by **Indravarman**, situated in the village **Bhōṭhiśriṅga** in **Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-*vishaya*** on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna for the benefit of his parents and self, to Lōkamādhava, Svayambhukēśvara and some other Brāhmaṇas named Kēśava, Dāupa, Sōmapā, Viṭhu, Madhusūdana, Dhanaśarman, Gaṇapati, Bhṛigudēva, Dēvaśarman, Śavarapa and Durgakhaṇḍi.[5]

The places mentioned in this inscription are **Śvētaka, Nandagiri, Kōlāulapura, Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-*vishaya*** and **Bhōṭhiśriṅga**. As regards Śvētaka, Mr. R. Subba Rao has observed, "It would apppear from the *Sthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Pushkaraṇi* (*sic*); and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam."[6] Mr. Sarma, however, identifies it with the modern Chīkaṭi Zamindari in the Sōmpeṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.[7] Kōlāulapura has been identified by Rice with the modern Kolar in the east of Mysore and Nandagiri with Nandidrug, the well-known fortified hill to the west of the Kolar District, Mysore.[8] He proposed these two identifications in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore; but if we accept them in connection with the Gaṅgas of Orissa, then we presume that the Gaṅgas

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 264.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

[4] I am wholly indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lond.), for kindly permitting me to make full use of an unpublished article of him regarding this genealogical point. This valuable paper of his will be ere long published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. [It has since been published, above, Vol. XXV, p. 240—Ed.]

[5] It may be that this Durgakhaṇḍi is the same as Durgakhaṇḍin mentioned in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) and the grant of Dānārṇava (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII p. 264).

[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

[7] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.

[8] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 32.

of Orissa migrated from Mysore region. Regarding this point Dr. H. C. Roy has observed, "From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kōlāhala it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjām and the details of their subsequent history must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity. In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above..... That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, which clearly mentions Kōlāhala, the founder of Kōlāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-vishaya, as one of his ancestors. The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kōlāhala, leaving Kōlāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahēndra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gōkarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kaliṅga countries"[1] and Vajrahasta (the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic record) is the seventeenth prince from Kāmārṇava. This shows that there is sufficient ground for holding the theory of the migration of the Gaṅgas of Orissa from the Mysore region. But for the distance one would feel tempted to identify Bhēṭhiśriṅga with Barsinga on the Brāhmaṇī river.[2] I cannot suggest any identification for Paṭaṇīkhaṇḍa-*vishaya*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm[3] svasti (||[4]) Śvētkā(tak-ā)dhishṭhānād-bhagavataś-charāchara-gurōḥ[5] śakala-sasāṅka[6]-śrō (śē)-

2 khara-dharmaśya[7]||[8] sthity-utpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr-Mahēndrāchala[9]-śikha-

3 ra-nivāsinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarṇē(rṇē)śvara-bhaṭṭārakaśya(sya) charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-

4 puṇya(ṇya)-nichaya[ḥ*]||[8] shaṭki(śakti)-trayaḥ[10]-prakarsh-ānurañjita-śēsha[11]-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*]||[8] śva(sva)-bhuja-va(ba)-

5 la-parākram-ākrānta||[8] -sakala-Kalī(li)ṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] paramamāhēśvarō mā[tā]-

6 pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] śrī- Nā(Na)nda-giri-nātha[ḥ*] Kōlāḷapura-pa-

7 ṭṭaṇa-vinī(ni)rgata-kāmvalya-varaya-ghōsa(shaḥ) ||[8] ma(a)nōka-jaya-jayā(ya)-sadva[12]-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍī-

8 ta[ḥ*]||[8] mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-para[13]mabhaṭṭāraka- śrī-rājā **Indravarmadēva[ḥ*]** kusha(śa)-

[1] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 448-49.

[2] I am wholly indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S. B., for this identification.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *gurōḥ*.

[5] Read *śrīśaila*.

[6] Read *dharmaṇya*.

[7] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

[8] Read *Mahēndr-ārchala*.

[9] This *visarga* is not required ; read *traya*.

[10] Read *-ānurañjit-śēsha*.

[11] Read *śabda*

[12] This *ra* appears below the line.

Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Indravarman.

i.



ii,a.



iii,a.



ii,b.



iii,b.



9 || śrī-**Pṛithivi(vī)varmasya(ṇaḥ)** śu(su)taḥ Paṭaṇi[1]-khaṇḍa-vishaē(yē)|||[2]

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-mahāsāmanta ||[3] -śrī-sāmanta ||[4] -rājanaka-rā[ja*]putra-kumara(mārā)-||[5]

11 māty-utpari[1]-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-gā(grā)mapati(tīn)||[7] anyā(nyāṁ)śa-cha chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-

12 sāmanta-rāṭṭrakuṭa-kuṭumvinn[6] ||[8] janapadānaḥ(dān) samādisha(śa)ti viditam-astu

13 bhavatā[m*] ētad-vishaya-samandha[9]-grāmō-ya[ṁ*] ||[8] **Bhēṭhiśriṅgō** nāma sa-jala-sthal-ārā-

14 nya[7] chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpa-adhasrōtra-śahitēna | lakshitaṁ(taś)[8] -cha ||[8] Ara[3]paduṇi-grā-

15 m-ārdhdha(rddha)-Pārūpadra-khātādi-khāṁbhāra-samitēna ||[1] tasya madhē[10] bhu(bhū)mi-dasa(śa)kṣidi-

16 mēkaṁ-ūchaḥ[11] śrī-Lōkamādhavasya[12] dataṁ[13] ||[3] apara-ardhdha-ansa[14]-bhaṭṭāraka-Svayambhukē-

17 sarasya[15] ||[3] apara-ardhdha-ansa[14] vrāhmaṇānāṁ-cha[16] || śrī-Gōśvā(svā)maṇikasya jē(jyē)-shṭhapu-

18 traḥ śrī-Gāṅga-Svayambhukasya rāgni[17] śrī-Ēlā ||[3] tasya dharma-kīrtī[r]-jagati

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 paristhāpitaṁ-ūcha[18] ||[3] ih-aiva Phālguṇa-māsa-śuḷka[19]-paksha -chaturdaśi(śī) ||[3] parili —

20 kshitaṁ-ūcha[20] ||[3] mātā-pitō(trō)r-ātmanaś-cha ||[3] puṇyā(ṇya)-pavardhayōḥ[21] sha(sa)lila-dhārā-puraḥsa-

[1] [The letter read as *ja* looks more like *dra* or *ḍra*. The name of the *viṣaya* may thus be *Puḍraṇi* or *Puḍaṇi*, more probably the latter which also occurs below in line 14 as the name of a village. See below f. n. 9.—B. C. C.]

[2] *Daṇḍas* unnecessary. There is a symbol after the *daṇḍas*, which resembles the symbol of *ōṁ* in the beginning.

[3] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

[4] Read *-ōparika-*.

[5] Read *rāshṭrakūṭa-kuṭumbinaḥ*.

[6] Read *saṁbaddha*.

[7] Read *-āraṇyaś-*.

[8] Possibly we have to read *chatuḥ-sīm-ōpalakshitaḥ*. [The reading *adhasrōtra* obviously corresponds to *adhaś-ch-ārdhva*.—B. C. C.]

[9] This *ra* appears below the line. [Can it be that the intended reading is *aparaṁ Puḍraṇi-grām-ārdha*—etc. ? See above f. n. 5.—B. C. C.]

[10] Read *madhyē*.

[11] Read *mēkaṁ cha*. [Can the intended reading be *ēk-ōnāṁ* ? —B. C. C.]

[12] Read *Lōkamādhavāya*.

[13] Read *dattaṁ*.

[14] Read *apar-ārddhē-aṁśaḥ*.

[15] Read *-śvarāya*.

[16] Read *brāhmaṇēbhyaś-cha*.

[17] Read *rājñī*.

[18] Read *pratishṭhāpitāś-cha*.

[19] Read *śukla*.

[20] Read *parilēkhitaṁ-cha*.

[21] Read *prayiddhayē*.

21 rēṇa[1] ||[2] chandr-ārka-sthiti-sama-kāla[ṁ] a-kari(rī)-kṛitya pratipāditō-smābhiḥr=
yataṁ[3] ||[2]

22 śāsana-darshanā[ta]ḥ dharma-gaura[4]vāt-samād-gauravā cha[5] ||[2] na kēna=chipta(t-pa)-
ripanthina(nā)

23 bhavivya[6] || tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-shā(śā)strē Va(Ba)hubhiḥ[r](bhir)-vasu(su)dhā
datā[7] rājāna[8] Sagar-ādi-

24 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[ḥ*] ||[2] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Mā bhuya
(bhūd=a)phala-saṁ(śa)śkā va[ḥ*]

25 para-datāti[9] pārthivā[ḥ*][10] || Sha(Sva)-datām(ttāṁ) para-datām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēti(ta)
vashu(su)ndharā[m*] | śa(sa) vishṭhāyā[ṁ*]

26 kṛimi[r=*] bhu(bhū)tvā piṭribhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē || Śashṭhim-varisha(Shashṭiṁ varsha)-
śa(sa)hasrū(srā)ṇi svargaṁ(svargē) mōdati bhu(bhū)-

27 mida[ḥ*] | a(ā)kshēptā ch= ānumantyū(ntā) dhā(cha) [tāny*=] ē[11]va narakaṁ vrajētaḥ(t)
[|*] śva(sva)-dānāt-phalaṁ kuryā-pa[12]

Third Plate ; First Side.

28 para-datā(tt-ā)nupālanaṁ [||] Bhu(Bhū)mi[ṁ*] yaḥḥ(yaḥ) pratigṛihnā(hṇā)ti tasya[13] bhu-
(bhū)mi[ṁ] prayachchhati [|*]

29 ubhau(bhau) tau punya(ṇya)-karmāṇau nī(ni)yatau śva(sva)rga-gāminau || athaṁ(Yas-tu)
hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[ṁ*]

30 mandavudhi(buddhis=)tamā(mō)vṛitā(taḥ) [|*] sa vadhō[14] vāruṇai[ḥ*] pāsai(śaiḥ) tirya[15]
-yōnyāū-cha jāyatē || A-

31 nyāya(yē)na hari(hṛi)tā bhu(bhū)mir-anyāyēna tu hāritā || hāratē hārayaṁtaū-cha[16] dahaty
=ā

32 shatpaṁmaṁ(saptamaṁ) kulaṁ || Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-viṁduṁ(bindu)-lōlā[ṁ]
śrī(śri)yam-anu-

33 chiṁtā(ntya) [ma*]nusya(shya)-ji(jī)vitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udahri(dāhṛi)taṁ [cha*]
vudhā(buddhvā) na hi purushai[ḥ*] pa[ra*]-kīrtayō

34 vilōpyā[ḥ||*] likshi(khi)tam=idaṁ mahāsaṁ(sa)ndhivigrahi-śrī-Sāmantēna || utkirna-
(tkīrṇa) -

[1] Read *paraśasanam*.

[2] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgari letter *ga* without the top bar.

[3] Read *bhir=yataḥ*.

[4] This *ra* appears below the line.

[5] Read *darśanād=dharmma-gauravād=asmad-gauravāch=cha*.

[6] Read *bhaviṣyam*.

[7] Read *datā*.

[8] Read *rājabhiḥ*.

[9] Read *para-datt=āḥ*.

[10] Second half of the verse missing here but occurs in ll. 27-28.

[11] This *ē* is initial.

[12] Read *phalam-anantyam* as found in many instances. This half of the verse should occur in l. 25, as noticed above.

[13] Read *yaś=cha*.

[14] Read *badhō*.

[15] Read *tiryag*.

[16] Read *harayō hārayatas=cha*.

35 ñ-chaḥ[1] śāsanaḥ[2] kāṁsa(sya)kāra- śrēshṭhi -śrī -Sāmanta- Śva(Sva)yambhunā Napaḥ[3] shu(su)tēna ||

36 lāñchhitaṁ(ta)ñ-cha śrī Gōśvā(svā)miṇikēna || tachharvam[4] pramāṇam-iti || [chha] ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

37 Bhaṭṭaputra Kēśava || apara Dāupa || punaḥ Śō(Sō)mapā || punaḥ Viṭhu |||

38 punuḥ(naḥ) Madhusā(sū)dana || punuḥ(naḥ) Dhanaśarma || apara Bhaṭṭaputra-vāstavya-Gaṇapati ||

39 Bhṛigudēvaś-cha || apara Dēvasha(śa)rma || apara Savarapaḥ || Durgakhaṇḍi || ēbhi(bhyō)

40 brāhmaṇēbhō(bhyō) dataṁ(ttam) || o ||

No. 24.—A BUDDHIST TRACT IN A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CUTTACK MUSEUM.

By A. Ghosh, M.A., Patna.

The **stone-slab** containing the following inscription is housed in the Provincial Museum of Orissa, Cuttack. Professor G. S. Das, the Secretary of the Museum, informs me that there is no record in the Museum to show the findspot of the inscription or the year of its discovery. My thanks are due to Professor Das for his permission to edit the inscription in the pages of this journal.

The **inscription** is engraved on both sides of a slab of stone, 1′6″×1′2″×4″, there being 11 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse. The **letters** are neatly and clearly engraved, their average size being $\frac{1}{8}$″. The **characters** belong to about the tenth century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to (1) the use of the *avagraha* sign in *likhitvā-'bhyantaraṁ* (l. 12); (2) the non-duplication of the consonant after the superscript *r* in *sarva* (l. 2 et passim), *mārga* (l. 6), *dharma* (l. 17), *āścharya* (l. 19); contrast, however, *chūrṇṇa* (l. 15); (3) the use of *anusvāra* for the class-nasal in *maṁtra* (l. 7), *abhyaṁtaraṁ* (l. 12), *gaṁdha* (l. 14), *bhavashṭi* (l. 16), *saṁgha* (l. 17), *Ānaṁda* (ll. 18 and 21), *maṁda* (l. 18) and *āṁtarya* (l. 19); and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout.

The **text** of the inscription is a quotation of some Buddhist *dhāraṇī* followed by a discourse on the use and virtues of the *dhāraṇi*. The tract purports to have been uttered by the Buddha himself to his disciple Ānanda, though I have not succeeded in locating it in the Buddhist texts that I have consulted. It is said in the text that the *dhāraṇī* should be written and thrown inside a *chaitya*, by which act one acquires the virtue of erecting a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas*. We have archæological evidence that this practice of enshrining sacred texts was followed all over India. At Nālandā, for instance, besides some bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*[5] or its shorter version *yē dharmā*, etc., there have been found a large number of terracotta tablets bearing on them the text of some *dhāraṇī*[6]. The minuteness

[1] *Visarga* is superfluous. Read °ñ-cha.

[2] Read *śāsanaṁ*.

[3] Are we to read *Nṛipa*? [This Napa may be identical with Napa, the engraver of the Tokkali plates of Anantavarman; see below p. 176, text l. 25.—Ed.]

[4] Read *tat-sarvaṁ*.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 206ff.
Cf. An. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle, 1915-16, p. 36.

of the characters on these tablets often forbid an accurate decipherment of the inscriptions. But on examining some of them on which the inscriptions are somewhat clear, I found that at least two give the same *dhāraṇī* as is contained in the present inscription, together with a few extra lines at the beginning and at the end.[1]

The practice of immuring sacred objects including inscribed religious texts inside votive *stūpas* took a somewhat different form in some Buddhist sites. At Nālandā and Paharpur[2], for instance, hoards of lumps of clay, encasing two plaques with figures of Buddha, Tārā, etc., or inscribed with the Buddhist formula, have been found within the core of single votive *stūpas*. The origin of this custom seems to be explained by a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*[3] in which the Buddha enumerates the different ways of worshipping a *chaitya*, *viz.*, by circumambulation, *throwing a lump of clay*, placing a heap of *mukta*-flowers, putting a garland, dedicating a lamp and anointing with perfumes.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 धर धर । धर धर । प्रहर प्रहर । महावो(बो)धिचित्तधरे ।

2 चुलु चुलु । ग्रतरश्मिरुंचोदिते । सर्वतथागताभि-

3 षेकाभिषिक्ते । गुणगणमते । वु(बु)द्धगुणावहासे ।

4 मिलि मिलि । गगनतलप्रतिष्ठिते । नभस्तले । ग्र-

5 म ग्रम । प्रग्रम प्रग्रम । सर्वपापप्रग्रमने । सर्व-

6 पापविशोधने । हुलु हुलु । महावो(बो)धिमार्गसंप्रस्थि-

[1] The tablets referred to here are two of the six hundred tablets that were found together in 1915-16 in Stūpa Site No. 2 and are now in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā, bearing the register numbers 2-42 and 2-193. The text of the former is given below:

1 ōṁ namō bhagavatē vipula-vadana-kāñchan-ākshī-
2 pta-prabhāsa-kō(?)ṭa-pūrvva-tathāgatāya namō bhagava-
3 tē Śākya-munayē tathāgatāy-ārhatē samyak-saṁvu(bu)ddhāya
4 tad-yathā ōṁ vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi sarva-tathāgata-gōchara dhara
5 hara hara prahara prahara mahā-vō(bō)dhi-chitta-dharē chulu chulu śata-raśmi-saṁ-
6 chōditē *sarva-tathāgat-ābhiṣhiktē* guṇa-gaṇa-matē vu(bu)ddha-guṇ-āvahā-
7 sē mili mili *gagana-tala-sarva-tathāgat-ādhiṣhṭhitē* na-
8 bhas-talē śama śama *sarva-pāpa-praśamanē* sarva-pāpa-viśōdhanē
9 hulu hulu mahā-vō(bō)dhi-mārga-samprasthitē sarva-tathāgata-pratishṭhita-
10 śuddhē svāhā *sarva-tathāgata-ayurvisōdhitē* jaya jaya svā-
11 hā hara hara jaya-mukhē svāhā ēka-chaitya-kriyēna
12 lakshā(kshaṁ) kṛitā bhava[ṁ]hi pratītya-samutpādatā
13 five illegible letters, followed by a symbol denoting *vajra*.

The portions italicized above are somewhat different from the corresponding portions of the text appearing in the stone inscription edited here. No. 2-193 gives the same text in 11 lines, the only difference being that the word *dhara* (l. 4 above) is repeated twice and that after *jaya-mukhē* (l. 11 above) it repeats the Buddhist formula *yē dharmā*, etc., instead of the portion beginning with *ēka-chaitya-kriyēna*.

[2] *Excavations at Paharpur*, Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 55, p. 83.

[3] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 78-79.

A Buddhist Tract in a Stone Inscription in the Cuttack Museum.

Obverse.



Reverse.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

7 ते । सर्वतथागतप्रतिष्ठितशुद्धे स्वाहा ॥ मूलमंत्रः । स-

8 र्वतथागतगोचरव्यवलोकिते जय जय स्वाहा । हृदये । हु-

9 रु हुरु जयमुखे स्वाहा । उपहृ[द*]यं [॥*] यः कश्चिद्भिक्षुर्वा

10 भिक्षुको वा उपासको वा उपासिका वा । अन्यो वा । यः(यः?)

11 क[श्चित्] श्राद्धः[1] कुले पुत्रो वा कुले दुहिता वा[2] ———

Reverse.

12 [इ]मां धारणी[ं] [लि]खित्वाऽभ्यंतरं प्रक्षिप्य चैत्य[ं] क-

13 [रि]ष्यति ।[3] तेनैकेन चैत्येन कृतेन लक्षं तथागत-

14 चैत्यानां कृतं भवति । ते च चैत्या[ः*] सर्वगंधपुष्पधूप-

15 चूर्णचावर[4]च्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिर्दि[5]व्यकरणैः पू-

16 जिता भवंति । न केवलं चैत्यमेवमपि तु बु(बु)द्धरत्नं ध-

17 र्मरत्नं संघरत्नं चैवंविधैरुपकरणैः पूजितं भवति ।

18 एवम्प(म्प)यानंद संक्षिप्तेन देशितं मंदपुण्यानां अयु-[6]

19 रि—शुद्धानां मिथ्यादृष्टिवैमतिकाना(नां) यानांतर्य-

20 कारिणां अल्पायुष्काणां[7] नरकति[र्य*]ग्योनियमलोकपरा-

21 यणानां सत्वा(त्त्वा)नामर्थाय(?) य—सा(?)मानंद ग्रहस्था[नां*?] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 9-21)[8] Whichever person, (*be he*) a monk or a nun or a male lay-worshipper or a female lay-worshipper or any son of a noble family or a daughter of a noble family having faith, constructs a *chaitya* after having written this *dhāraṇī* and thrown it inside—by the construction of that single *chaitya*, a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas* will have been constructed by him.

[1] Read कश्चिच्छ्राद्धः.

[2] Read कुलपुत्री वा कुलदुहिता वा.

[3] *Danda* unnecessary.

[4] Read °चामर°

[5] Read °पताकादिभि°

[6] Read °पुण्यानामयु°. [Intended reading seems to be °*m=apariśuddhānāṁ*. The letter after *ri* seems to be a malformed *śu* scored out.—Ed.]

[7] Read °कारिणामल्पायुष्काणां

[8] Lines 1-9 give the text of the *dhāraṇī* which it is not possible to translate.

Those *chaityas* are worshipped with the accessories of all perfumes, flowers, incenses, powders, *chowries*, umbrellas, flags, banners, etc. Not only a *chaitya*, but the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Law, and the Jewel of the Order are worshipped with such accessories. O Ānanda, thus has been indicated in brief by me, for the sake of persons who have small virtues, ...who are of a wrong disposition due to false sight, who create obstacles (?) in the Vehicle, who have a short life, whose refuge is in hell, in a birth as a lower animal or in the world of Yama, (*and*) O Ānanda, ...(of?) householders.

No. 25.—TEKKALI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; GANGA YEAR 358.

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M. A., CALCUTTA.

The plates forming the subject of the present paper were received for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Rājā Bāhādur of **Tekkali** in the Ganjām District of Madras, in whose ownership they lie at present. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*[1] for the year 1935-36. I now edit the inscription for the first time from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

According to the information kindly supplied by the office of the Government Epigraphist, these are **three sheets** of copper measuring approximately 5½" by 2½". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a **ring-hole**, about ⅛" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper **ring** about ¼" thick and 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to the protruding bottom of a small circular **seal** about ¾" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a bull facing proper left. The **weight** of the plates along with the ring and the seal is 57 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets with a sprinkling of northern forms here and there. They generally resemble those of the Alamaṇḍa plates of Anantavarman[2], the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman[3] and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman[4]. An important palaeographic feature of the present inscription is that some of the letters show two alternative forms: such, for example, are *n* (*Cf. bhavana* and *anēka*, l. 4), *bh* as in *prabha* (l. 9) and *bhavana* (l. 4), *m* as in *amara* (l. 1) and *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 5), *v* as in *varu* (l. 10) and *visaya* (l. 12), and *s* as in *samasta* (l. 9). The conjunct *śri* in l. 16 (in both cases) is also noteworthy.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following: (1) both *s* and *ś* have been promiscuously used throughout, (2) medial signs like *ā* and *ē* have often been omitted, (3) consonants before or after *r* are occasionally doubled, and (4) *anusvāra* or *visarga* have been left out in a large number of cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit[5]; with the exception of a verse and a half coming at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. The composition is extremely faulty. There are altogether three plates of which the first and the third are engraved on their inner sides only, while the second one bears writing on both of its faces. Each of the inscribed plates, except the last one

[1] No. 3 of 1935-36; pp. 5 and 59 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff. and plate.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff. and plate.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. and plate.

[5] Stray cases of vernacularisation such as *sanachchhara* (l. 23), *athavanchhid* (l. 24) or *silōka* (l. 26) that occur are a far too common feature of inscriptions of this age from Kaliṅga.

which has eight lines, contains seven lines of writing, the complete record thus running to twenty-nine lines. Both the scribe and the engraver have executed their work very carelessly. The inscription is however on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **inscription** apparently records the gift of the village of **Siṇicharaṇa** (no district has been mentioned) to a Brāhmaṇa called Viṭhubhaṭa (Vishṇubhaṭṭa), son of Harichandra, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. The donor was the king **Anantavarman**, son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, who belonged to the Gaṅga *kula*. The gift, which was issued from Kaliṅganagara, was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The writer of the record was the *Sāmanta* Mātṛisiri and the engraver was the *Akshaśālin* Napa.

The **date** given (in words) is the Year 358 of the prosperous victorious reign of the Gaṅgas.

The chief interest of the present record lies in the date and the personality of its donor. As has been mentioned above, the record belongs to Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, and is dated in the Gaṅga Year 358. This date precludes any possibility of identifying the father of the donor of the present record with any other person than Dēvēndravarman, father of Satyavarman. For the last-named, we have an inscription dated in the Year 351[1] of the Gaṅga era. This last date again is fairly near to that of our inscription, *viz.*, 358. I, therefore, suggest that Anantavarman of the present inscription was a brother[2] of Satyavarman of the Chicacole plates. This satisfactorily adjusts the date of the inscription and finds a place for its donor in the Gaṅga pedigree in the following fashion:

[3]Dēvēndravarman (III)

Satyavarman (Year 351)	Anantavarman (III) (Year 358)

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** occurs frequently in inscriptions of Gaṅga kings. It has generally been identified with modern Kaliṅgapatam or with Mukhaliṅgam. I am however unable at present to locate the village granted.

Palæographically, the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman may be referred to the **third quarter of the 9th century** A.D.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[5] Svasty(ti) [||*] Amarapur-ānukāriṇa[ḥ*] sa(sa)rv-artu-sukha-rama-

2 ṇi(ṇī)yād-vijayavata[ḥ*] **Kaliṅganagarā**dhdhivaśaka[6] Mahē-

[1] I follow the revised reading reported (D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 393 and f. n. 4) to have been suggested to Dr. E. Hultzsch by Mr. Ramamurti, *viz.*, *-śata-tray-aikapañchāśe(śa)*. The palæography of the inscription absolutely contradicts such an early date as the Year 151 as suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12, text, *l.*35) by Dr. J. F. Fleet. This seems to me to be a definite case of remissness on the part of both the engraver and the scribe.

[2] [This relationship has already been pointed out in the *An. Rep.* on *S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 6.—Ed.]

[3] Dēvēndravarman, the father of Satyavarman, and, as I have shown, also of Anantavarman of the present record, has variously been called as D° III or D° IV (see, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 75 and f. n. 7). In my genealogical scheme, I have followed D. R. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 386, column 2, No. 14) and R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234) in taking Dēvēndravarman of our inscription as D° III and his son as Anantavarman III.

[4] From ink-impressions.

[5] Denoted by a symbol.

[6] The intended reading seems to be *Kaliṅganagar-ādhivāsakā*. The word *adhivāsaka* should, however, be corrected into *vāsaka*.

3 dr(ndr)-ācha[l-ā]mala-si(śi)khara-pratiṭi(ṣṭhī)taśi(sya) sa-chara(rā)cha[ra*]-
4 gurō[ḥ*] sakala-bhu(bhu)vana-nirmma-anēka[1]-sūtra-
5 dhārasi(sya) śasū(śū)ṇka-chu(chū)ḍāma[2]ṇi-bhagava-
6 tō Gōkarṇṇasamina[3]=charaṇa-kamala-ju(yu)gala-
7 praṇama(ṇāmā)d=vigata-kali-kāla-kalaṅka[ḥ*] anēk-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 bava-sachhā(ṅkshō)bha-janita-jaya-sanda[4] pratāpa(p-ā)vana-
9 ta-samaśta(sta)-samasta[5]-śama[6]-chakrē(kra)-chūḍḍaṇi[7]-prabha[8](bhā)-ma-
10 ñjari(rī)-puja(ñja)-rañjita-vara-charaṇa[ḥ*] sita-kumuda-
11 kudēdvu(nd-ēndv-a)vadāta-yashē(śā) dhvaśt-arati[9]-kula(l-ā)cha-
12 lō nayа-vinaya-dayа(yā)-dāna-dāñchakshiṇya-sarja-
13 dārjya-śati-tyāg-adhvi[10]-guṇa-saṃpadā[m-ā*]dhāra-bhū-
14 tō(taḥ) paramamāhēśvarō ma(mā)tā-pitṛi(tṛi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

15 pād-ānudhyā(dhyā)[tō] **Gaṅg**-āmala-kula-tilakō mahāra(rā)-
16 ja-śrī-Dēvēttra(ndra)varmma-sūnu-śrī-**Anantavarmma-**
17 **dēvaṇa(vēṇa)** udaka-pūrvra(rvva)[ṁ*] kṛitvā sūrjya(ryya)-grah-ōpara(rā)gē
18 sapradata[11] | [12]Kāṇḍilya-gōtra-Harichandra-sū-
19 nu-**Viṭhubhaṭēṇa(na)** upā[r*]jjitaṁ vā[ṭi] |
20 **Siṇicharaṇa**-gra(grā)mō-[13]ya[ṁ*] rō[ka?]-kuṭuvina[14]
21 ..i sada-hala-bhūmi-chaturaṅghaṭa(r-āghāṭa)- [15]chhēda-

Third Plate.

22 śi(śī)l-āṅkitaṁ taṭākēna śa(sa)hita[ṁ*] | **Ga[ṅ*]gōya-va[ṁ*]-**
23 **śa-pravadhvamana-vijutya[16]-rāj[y]a-savachhrara[17]-sa(śa)ta-**
24 **rtṛiṇi-aṭhavanāśād[18]** || likhitam=idaṁ **Mātṛisiri-śa-**
25 matēṇa[19] | utkirṇṇaḥ[20] śākhaśālina[21] **Napēṇa** | ada-

[1] Read *-nirmmāṇa-eka-*.

[2] Note the northern form of *m*.

[3] Read *Gōkarṇṇasaṁmānaś-*.

[4] Read *-śabdaḥ*.

[5] The word *samasta* is repeated needlessly.

[6] Read *-śāmanta-*.

[7] Read *-chhāḍḍāmaṇi-*.

[8] Note the northern form of *bh*.

[9] Read *dhvast-ārāti-*.

[10] Read *-dākshiṇya-śaurya-audāryya-satya-tyāg-ādi-*.

[11] Read *sa(śa)pradattaḥ*.

[12] This might be restored as *Śāṇḍilya* rather than as *Kaṇḍinya*.

[13] The letter *ya* was subsequently inserted, rather below the line of writing.

[14] Read *kuṭumbinaḥ*. [Reading may be *Rō[kē]kaṭavina dui-sada*, etc., *i.e.* in addition to the village, the gift seems to have consisted of 200 *śalas* of land belonging to the cultivator Rōkū (?) and also a *taṭāka*.

The name of the village appears to be Vāiśiṇicharaṇa. In fact the mark after *Vāi* would show that the word is meant to be continued in the next line. Perhaps it was meant to be an agrahāra village which was mostly inhabited by the Brahmins of the White Yajurveda belonging to the Vājasanēyi charaṇa.—Ed.]

[15] This word appears to have been engraved somewhat above the proper line of writing.

[16] Read *-pravardhamāna-vijaya-*.

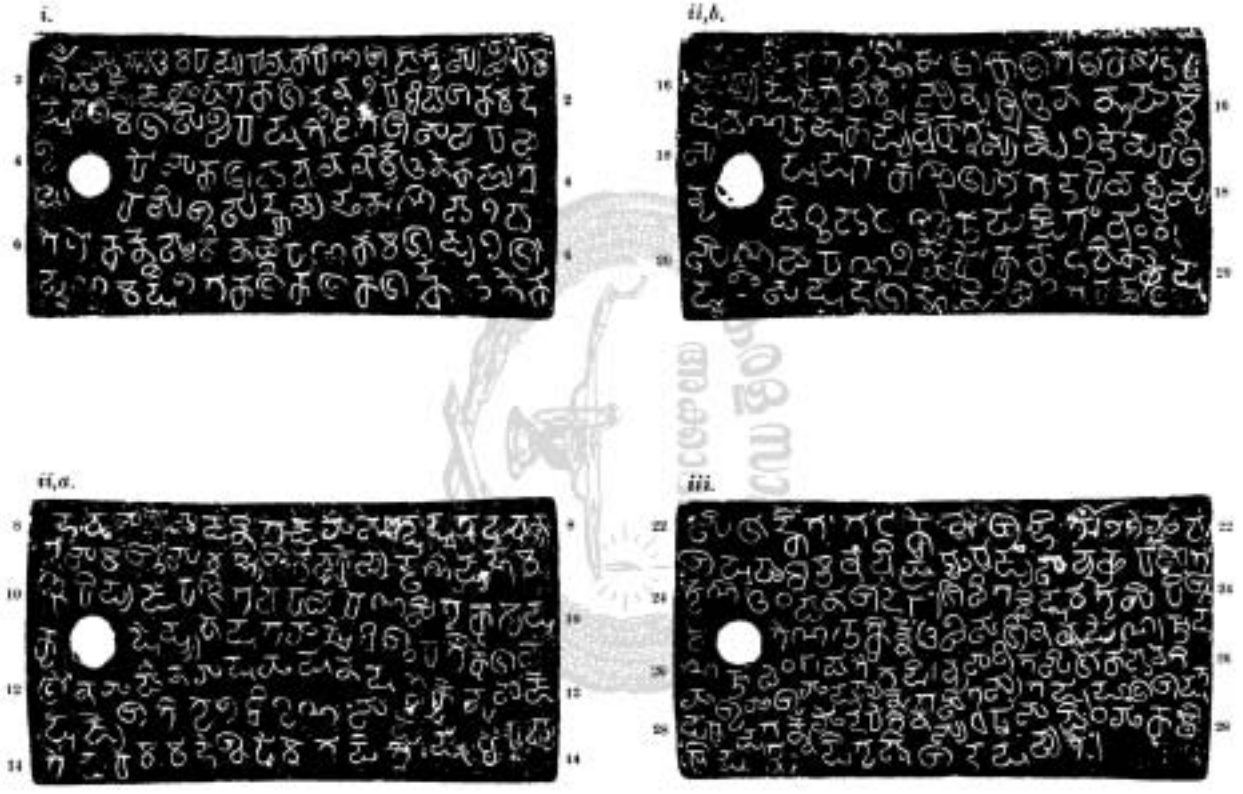
[17] Read *-saṁvatsara*.

[18] Read *-trṛg-ūnchatuśchhāśat*, or better *-trayaṁ s-daśōttaśchhāśat*.

[19] Read *-sūnunēdaṁ*.

[20] Read *utkīrṇaṁ*.

[21] Read *śākhaśālinā*.



K. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

26 ṇa achaṁ || vātōtapi | Vya(vyā)sa-gītā-silōkā bhuvati[1] [|*]
27 [2]Yaśya(sya) yaśya(sya) yada(dā) bhūmi tasi(s-tasya) tasya tadā phala[m*] [|*] [3]Sa-data
28 para-dataṁ=vā[4] yō harēti(ta) vasu[ṇ*]dharā[m*] [|*] sa viṭhayū[5] kṛimi-
29 ri putvā[6] pitṛibhi[ḥ*] śa(sa)ha da(pa)chyatē (||)

No. 26.—DONGARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDEVA ; SAKA 1034.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

In October 1939 Mr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.A., my former student and a research scholar of the Nagpur University, told me about a stone inscription at **Ḍōṅgargāon**, a village about 10 miles from Pusad in the Yeotmal District of Berar. I gave him the necessary materials for taking an estampage of the record. He copied it with the assistance of Mr. Tatvavadi, Tahasildar of Pusad. His estampage, though not perfect, was sufficiently clear to show that it was a record of the time of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, which had not been noticed in the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*. I published a short note on its contents and historical importance in the local papers in February 1940. As the estampage taken by Mr. Deshmukh was not sufficiently good for reproduction, I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to copy the record for me. In compliance therewith Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra kindly supplied me with excellent estampages from which I edit the record here.

Ḍōṅgargāon is, as its name signifies, situated on a hill. There are two old temples here, one of which is in a fair state of preservation. The other one is very much dilapidated. Its *maṇḍapa* alone is now standing, the *garbhagṛiha* having fallen into ruins. The present inscription is incised on the architrave of the door of the old *garbhagṛiha* of this temple. The writing covers a space 4′ 3½″ broad and 7½″ high, and consists of eight lines. It has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather, some *akṣharas* in the first and last lines and at either end of the remaining ones having now become almost illegible. Besides, the stone was not originally well dressed and the technical execution of the record also is not satisfactory. It is, however, possible to read with patience and perseverance almost the whole of it except about a dozen *akṣharas* which have become altogether illegible in lines 1, 5, 7 and 8. The **characters** are Nāgarī, regular for the period to which the record refers itself. The size of the letters is ·7″ in the first six lines, but is reduced to ·6″ in the seventh line and to ·5″ in the eighth for want of space. Worthy of note is the use of double *pṛiṣhṭha-mātrās* in several places. In other inscriptions of the same period, one of the two *mātrās* denoting the medial *ai* and *au* is usually placed on the top of a letter, while the other becomes a *pṛiṣhṭha-mātrā*. This is noticed in the present inscription also in *puṇy-ōdayāy=aitat* in l. 7. But in all other cases both the *mātrās* of the medial *ai* and *au* appear as *pṛiṣhṭha-mātrās*.[7] In many cases the letters *p* and *y* as well as

[1] Read *ślōkā bhavanti*.

[2] The engraver has carelessly left out the first half of this oft-repeated verse, *viz.*, *Bahubhirvasudhā datta rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*.

[3] Read *Sva-dattāṁ*.

[4] Read *-dattāṁ vā*.

[5] Read *viṣhṭhāyāṁ*.

[6] Read *kṛimir=bhūtvā*.

[7] I have noticed a similar use of double *pṛiṣhṭha-mātrās* in an old Marāṭhī manuscript of the Mahānubhāva sect from Berar.

t and *n* have closely similar forms; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is indicated in one place by a rectangular sign almost identical with that for *p*, see *bāhūnā*, l. 2; in all other cases, it is denoted by the sign for *v*. The sign of the *avagraha* occurs twice in l. 4. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is, on the whole, correctly written. It evinces here and there the poet's fondness for alliteration. Except for the customary obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the usual imprecation, the particulars of the date and the name of the writer at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. It contains fourteen verses, all of which are numbered. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant following *r* and the use of *v* for *b*.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Paramāra** prince **Jagaddēva**. The object of it is to record that Jagaddēva granted the village **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa **Śrīnivāsa** and that the latter erected there a temple which he dedicated to Śiva for the religious merit of his father Śrīnidhi. The inscription was written by Viśvasvāmin. The **date** is given in the last line as the full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1034 (expressed in decimal figures only), the cyclic year being Nandana. This date corresponds to Friday, the 15th March A. D. 1112. It does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1034 was Nandana according to the southern lunisolar system. This is the only dated record of the reign of Jagaddēva and the only Paramāra inscription found in Berar. Another inscription[1] of Jagaddēva's reign was discovered some years ago at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions, but it is undated.

By way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king Jagaddēva. Like other Paramāra records it mentions that the royal family was descended from the eponymous hero Paramāra who was born from the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha when the latter was enraged by Viśvāmitra forcibly seizing his *kāmadhēnu*. In his family which by its noble warlike deeds surpassed the solar and lunar races, was born Bhōja who resembled Rāma by his noble qualities. We are next told that when the Mālava country sank under the attacks of three enemies, Udayāditya, the brother (*bhrātā*) of Bhōja, came to its rescue. This is the first record in which the relationship of Udayāditya to Bhōja is so clearly stated. Some Paramāra inscriptions[2] describe Udayāditya as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but they do not mention how he was related to Bhōja. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription[3] dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1161 has indeed been known for a long time to refer to Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhōja, but as *bandhu* signifies in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayāditya was supposed by scholars to be remotely related to Bhōja.[4] The aforementioned Jainad inscription mentions Bhōja as the *pitṛivya* (uncle) and Udayāditya as the father of Jagaddēva. This clearly implies that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōja, but as a stone inscription[5] at Udayapur gives an altogether different genealogy for Udyāditya from that of Bhōja, namely, that he was the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōpāla and great-grandson of Śūravīra of the Paramāra family, it was supposed that Udayāditya belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra clan and was a distant cousin of Bhōja.[6] The present inscription which uses the word *bhrātā* to indicate the relationship leaves no doubt that Udayāditya was Bhōja's real brother. The evidence of the Udayapur inscription which is a very late record[7] has to be rejected in view

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the Sēōrgadh inscription of Udayāditya, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

[4] This view was first expressed by Prof. Kielhorn and has since been adopted by others.

[5] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 56.

[7] It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1562. See D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 134.

of the testimony of three very early documents, viz., the Nagpur Museum, Jainad and Ḍōṅgargāon inscriptions.

The present record states in verse 5 that Udayāditya rescued the Mālava country when it was attacked by three kings. The invaders are not specifically mentioned here, but from verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription we learn that two of them were Karṇa and the king of Karṇāṭa.[1] As I have shown elsewhere,[2] this Karṇa was the homonymous Kalachuri king, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva, who ruled from A. D. 1041 to *circa* 1072. Karṇa invaded Malwa twice. In this first invasion which occurred soon after the death of Bhōja, his ally was the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujarāt.[3] Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The latter sent his son Vikramāditya VI who turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasiṁha. About fifteen years later,[4] Karṇa again attacked Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya VI and therefore must have readily allied himself with the mighty Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription states that the lord (*svāmin*), who was plainly the Paramāra king Jayasiṁha, was submerged when the Karṇāṭa king, Karṇa and other princes joined (one another from different sides) like mighty oceans. Kalachuri inscriptions do not generally mention this event, because they nowhere give a detailed account of Karṇa's conquests. The recently discovered Rewah stone inscription[5] of the time of Karṇa also does not mention it, though it describes Karṇa's campaigns against other kings, but that is evidently because the event occurred long after A. D. 1048-49 which is the date of that inscription. Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is however mentioned in an Apabhraṁśa verse to which I have drawn attention elsewhere.[6] The Chālukya records are not altogether silent about this achievement of Sōmēśvara II. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (A.D. 1075) mentions the Chālukya king as ' a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas '.

It is nowhere specifically stated who was the third invader of Malwa. But it seems probable that the reference is to the Western Gaṅga chief Udayāditya. From several records[7] in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayāditya and the valiant Hoysaḷa prince Ereyaṅga joined Sōmēśvara in his attack on Malwa. Ereyaṅga in particular is said to have

[1] Above, Vol. II, p. 185. In verse 32 of this inscription Kielhorn read *vaḥ-śrṇau-ōpama-milat-Karnāṭa-Karṇa-prabhava-urvīpāla-kadarthitāṁ*. Kielhorn's edition of the inscription is not accompanied by a facsimile of the record, but the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya ingeniously suggested that the correct reading should be *-Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhṛty-urvīpāla-*. (See his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 169-70, n.) I have examined the original in the Nagpur Museum. The medial vowel of the *akshara* following *pra* is clearly *ri*, not *a*, and the following *akshara* also is *tyu*, not *ṇu* as read by Kielhorn. It is plain therefore that the Mālava country was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 107, n. 1.

[3] Mēruṭuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, tr. by Tawney, pp. 74 ff.

[4] As shown below, Karṇa's ally this time was Sōmēśvara II who ascended the throne in Śaka 991. Karṇa was succeeded by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa in *circa* A.D. 1072. His campaign in Malwa must therefore be dated in *circa* A.D. 1070.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

[7] D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* p. 128.

trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's hill fort and burnt and devastated Dhārā. Jayasiṁha succumbed to this powerful attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom was completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country on this occasion is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which likens it to the catastrophe of world-destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In this hour of need Udayāditya, the brother of Bhōja, rose to the occasion. He routed the enemies' forces and rescued the Mālava country just as the Primeval Boar had uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The latter part of the Udayapur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya,[1] which has recently been discovered, states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Ḍāhala who could have been none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa.

The present inscription states further that though Udayāditya had several sons[2] he longed to have one more who would be after his heart. He therefore devoutly prayed to Śiva and by the god's favour obtained the son Jagaddēva. After Udayāditya's death, the inscription proceeds to state, Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parivitti*[3] (i.e. marrying before an elder brother marries). Two other sons of Udayāditya are known from inscriptions, *viz.*, Lakshmadēva and Naravarman who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddēva is mentioned in certain Hoysaḷa records[4] as the king of Malwa. As his name is not mentioned in other Paramāra inscriptions, he was supposed to be identical with Lakshmadēva[5] whom the Nagpur Museum stone inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayāditya. The present inscription, however, makes it plain that Jagaddēva was different from both Lakshmadēva and Naravarman and that, though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva.

Jagaddēva was probably the youngest son of Udayāditya. The description in verse 8 suggests that he was a favourite son of his father and was nominated by him as his successor. According to the *Rās Mālā*[6], Udayāditya had two wives, one of the Wāghelā clan and the other of the Sōḷaṅki. The former bore to him a son named Raṇadhavala and the latter Jagaddēva[7]. Raṇadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddēva was younger by two years. As Udayāditya was completely under the influence of Raṇadhavala's mother who ill-treated Jagaddēva, the latter left Malwa and took military service under Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt. He served him for eighteen years, but when he came to know that Siddharāja was planning an invasion of Malwa, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father who nominated him as his successor. After his father's death, Jagaddēva ascended the throne of Malwa and ruled for 52 years.

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1925-26, p. 13. This clearly shows that the king Karṇa who was responsible for the destruction of Jayasiṁha was the Kalachuri and not the Chaulukya king of that name.

[2] The text has *tasyu sutesv api putrēshu* which shows that Udayāditya had at least three sons at the time.

[3] *Parivitti* is used here in the sense of *parivēdana*, for the word generally denotes an elder brother who remains unmarried. See *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya III, v. 171. Manu says that in such cases both the elder and younger brothers, the girl married by the younger brother, the person who gives her in marriage and the officiating priest all go to hell. *Ibid.*, adhyāya III, v. 172.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

[5] D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 142.

[6] *Rās Mālā*, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

[7] The editor of the *Rās Mālā* spells the names as Jundhuwu and Jug Dev.

The foregoing account of Gujarāt bards cannot, of course, be accepted in its entirety, but it is to a certain extent corroborated by the present inscription. The tenor of the description in verse 6, for instance, suggests that Jagaddēva was a half-brother of Lakshmadēva who perhaps bore the *birudu* of Raṇadhavala. He seems also to have been nominated by Udayāditya as his successor, but the present inscription leaves no doubt that he never ascended the throne of Malwa[1].

When Jagaddēva relinquished his claim to the throne of Malwa in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva, he seems to have gone to Kuntala in search of 'fields and pastures new'. The present inscription states in verse 9 that the king of Kuntala treated Jagaddēva very affectionately. He called him the first among his sons, the lord of his kingdom, his right arm, nay, his very self. This king of Kuntala was plainly the contemporary king of the later Chālukya dynasty who was Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126). He seems to have appointed Jagaddēva to govern the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī which he had then recently wrested from the Paramāras. This territory was for some time the battle ground of contending powers. During the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas the Narmadā was apparently the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. When Sīyaka attempted to invade the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory, he was opposed by Khōṭṭiga, the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa king, on the bank of the Narmadā[2]. The latter was however defeated by the Paramāra king who followed up his victory and stormed the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa. Subsequently the Gōdāvarī seems to have been fixed as the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. This state of things continued for some time even after the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king had been overthrown by Tailapa II, the founder of the later Chālukya dynasty. This appears plain from the account of Mērutuṅga who states that when Tailapa harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country and the latter determined to march against him, his prime minister Rudrāditya advised him to make the river Gōdāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it[3]. After Muñja was defeated and taken captive, the Chālukyas seem to have advanced northward and conquered much of the territory previously held by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but they were soon driven out by Sindhurāja, the brother and successor of Muñja. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of the Paramāra king's court-poet Padmagupta describes this achievement of Sindhurāja in the following words:—'who (i.e., Sindhurāja) with his sword red with missiles recovered his kingdom (*svarājya*) which had been occupied by the lord of Kuntala who overran all directions just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions[4].' The *svarājya* recovered by Sindhurāja must have been the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom including the northern parts of Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha which had been annexed by Tailapa. Since then we get some Paramāra records from that part of the country. A copper-plate inscription found at Kalvan in the Nāsik District records a grant of land to a Jain sage at the *tīrtha* of Kālakālēśvara, 10 miles west of Kalvan, while the surrounding country was governed by Yaśōvarman, a feudatory of Bhōja[5]. Towards the end of Udayāditya's reign the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI made an incursion into Vidarbha and occupied parts of it for some time. A stone inscription

[1] The authors of the aforementioned Hoysaḷa inscriptions also had apparently no accurate knowledge of the status of Jagaddēva.

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 47.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 33.

[4] *Nava-sāhasāṅkacharita*, Canto I, v. 74.

[5] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. The inscription does not indicate any anarchical state of things as supposed by the editor.

dated Śaka 1008 (A. D. 1087) found at Sītābaldī, a suburb of Nagpur, states that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhāḍibhaṇḍaka was governing the country as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI[1]. Curiously enough this is also the last known date of Udayāditya's reign. When Jagaddēva came to the court of Vikramāditya VI, he seems to have been placed by the latter in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizam's Dominions. As already stated, there is another inscription of his reign, namely that found at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions. Jainad is only 65 miles almost due east of Dōṇgargāon.

The territory to the east of the Wardhā river was however soon reconquered by the Paramāras. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription which seems originally to have belonged to Bhāndak in the Chāndā District[2] mentions that Lakshmadēva, the son and successor of Udayāditya, endowed a temple, evidently at Bhāndak, with the gift of two villages. The surrounding country continued in the possession of Naravarman, the brother and successor of Lakshmadēva, as the Nagpur Museum stone inscription belongs to his reign. It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1161 (A.D. 1104-5), *i.e.*, about eight years before the present inscription of Jagaddēva's reign.

From other records also we know that Jagaddēva was an ally of Vikramāditya and took an active part in his military campaigns. Mērutuṅga states that Jagaddēva, though honoured by Siddha (*i.e.*, Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt), was earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin and so he went to the country of Kuntala.[3] It is well known that Paramardin was a *birudu* of Vikramāditya VI. The Jainad inscription mentions Jagaddēva's victories in Āndhra, Chakradurga and Dōrasamudra which were evidently won in the cause of Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is attested to by Hoysaḷa inscriptions also. We are told that the Emperor (Vikramāditya VI) sent Jagaddēva at the head of a large Chālukya army to invade the Hoysaḷa country.[4] He penetrated as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysaḷa capital, but was there defeated by Ballāla I, Vishṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, the valiant sons of the Hoysaḷa king Ereyaṅga.

The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddēva made him far-famed. 'There is no country, village, world or assembly where Jagaddēva's fame is not sung day and night,' says the present inscription. That this is not an altogether empty praise is shown by the numerous tales about his bravery and munificence which are recorded by Gujarāt chronicles.[5] The *subhāshita* No. 1261 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* seems to praise the liberality of this very Jagaddēva.

According to the *Rās Mālā* Jagaddēva lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he is said to have placed his son Jagaddhavala on the throne, but no records of his reign have yet come to light. The Paramāras, however, continued to hold parts of the Central Provinces long after the time of Jagaddēva. Their capital was Chāhanda which is probably identical with Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. Two stone inscriptions[6] found at Ambā near Mōminābād in the Bhīr District of the Nizam's Dominions mention a Paramāra king named Bhōja,[7] the ruler of Chāhanda, who was defeated by Khōlēśvara, the

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.

[2] Hiralal thought that the inscription originally belonged to Bilhāri, but this is incorrect. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 117, n. 5. As I have shown there, some of the places mentioned in it can be identified in the Chāndā District.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 186.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

[5] See, *e.g.*, *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, pp. 186 ff.

[6] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhi), Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

[7] This Bhōja is different from the homonymous Śilāhāra prince, the ruler of Kolhāpur, who was overthrown by Singhaṇa. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 524.

Left side.



Right side.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 2100 E'41-230.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

general of the Yādava Emperor Siṅghaṇa. One of these inscriptions is dated Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228-29). Another stone inscription written in old Marāṭhī has been discovered at Bhāndak (called Bhadrapura therein), now a village 16 miles north-west of Chāndā. It records the *jīrṇōddhāra* (renovation) of a temple dedicated to Nāga-Nārāyaṇa. The name of the Rāṇā Pavāra (Paramāra) who was ruling there is now illegible. The inscription contained a date in the Śaka era, but the last two figures of it are now lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right hand corner of the stone. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally read it as 1308.[1] This is the last record of the Paramāras found in the Central Provinces and Berar.

There is only one place-name in the present inscription, *viz.*, Ḍōṅgaragrāma which is plainly identical with Ḍōṅgargāon where the inscription has been found.

TEXT.[2]

1 [ओं[3]] नमः शिवाय । कुर्व्वन्नः पातु जगतां प्रभवस्थितिसंज्ञि(ह्नि)तीः । तिस्रः ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ विश्वं यच्च[सू]वर्त्तकः[4] ।१। अस्त्यर्ब्बु(र्ब्बु)द इति ख्यातः प्रतीच्यां दिशि पर्व्वतः मेखलाद्यन्तसंचारिकूर्मराजदिवाकरः ।२। कामधेनुं [हृतवतः]

2 विश्वामित्राय कुप्यतः । वसिष्ठात्तच्च होमाग्नौ परमारो व्यजायत ।३। तद्वंशे[5] क्षत्रचरितैः पुण्य(ण्य)वन्तान्वयाधिके । बभूव भोजदेवाख्यो राजा राममसमो गुणैः ।४। ततो रिपुचयस्कन्देभग्नां मालव[मेदिनीम्] । उ-

3 दयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्धत ।५। यस्याच्छया दिशः कीर्त्या भुवनानि परैर्गुणैः । [काष्ठाः] परा व(ब)लादेव काव्यैर्व्याप्यन्त चार्थितैः ।६। तस्य सत्स्वपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्मतसुतैषिणः । हराराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो म[ही]-

4 पतिः ।७। दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तामपि श्रियम् । परिवित्तिभयात्त्यक्ता योऽयजाय न्यवेदयत् ।८। पुत्राणामग्रयसोऽसि राज्यविषयस्वामी भुजो दक्षिणः सर्व्वास्वेव हरिष्यु जङ्गम [इ]-

5 यत्क्षोमा जयो मूर्त्तिमान् । आत्मैवेति च सप्रसादमुदितो यः कुन्तलक्ष्माभृता तादृप्यन्दधदेव दक्षिणदिशालङ्कारतां पुष्यति[6] ।९। अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो यस्मिन्वा(न्वा)क्यैः स्वर्णैश्च वर्षति । दैन्यसैन्य[निधिं] मुक्ता — —[7]

[1] In his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* Hiralal gives the date as Friday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Mārga-śīrsha in the Śaka year 13[08] bearing the name Kshaya which he says corresponds to Friday, the 16th November A.D. 1386. But my personal examination of the stone has shown that the reading is incorrect in one respect, *viz.*, that the *tithi* was of the *bright* fortnight. The date, if the reading of the year is correct, would correspond to Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1386.

[2] From inked estampages.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Metre of verses 1—8 : *Anushṭubh*.

[5] Read वंशे.

[6] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] Read मेदिनीम्—.

6 [द्वि]तमुपासते[1] ।१०। न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा ।
न तत्रक्रंदिवं यत्र जगद्देवो न गीयते ।११। आचन्द्रार्कं शासनीकृत्य तेन
क्षापालेन श्रीजगद्देवनाम्ना । पु[ष्पाधा]रे[2] डोङ्गरग्रामनामा ग्रामो दत्तः
श्रीनि[वा]सहि-

7 त्याय[3] ।१२। तद्दत्तडोङ्गरग्रामे श्रीनिधे[:] श्रेयसां निधेः । विद्याद्दत्तनिवासेन
श्रीनिवासेन [सू]नुना[4] ।१३। पितुः पुण्योदयायैतत्कारितं शिवमन्दिरम् ।
आकल्पं कल्पतां भूमिर्भूषणाय निरत्ययम् ।१४। अत्र देवाय ग्रामे[क्षि]प्तस्य
[श्रीनिवासप्रक्षि-?]

8 [प्याघातं] कृत्वातिक्षिप्य —[5] यो हर्त्तुमिच्छति स पञ्चमहापातकैर्लिप्यते । शकसंवत्
१०३४ नन्दनसंवत्सरे चैत्रां शासनं लिखितमिति । लेखको विश्वस्था[मी]
[।*] १०३४ तयांके १५ [।*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm! Salutation to Śiva!

(Verse 1) May Śiva, causing the three states of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the worlds.....protect you!

(V. 2) In the western quarter there is a mountain known as Arbuda, round the girdle (*i.e.*, the middle part) of which from one end to the other revolve the lord of tortoises[6] and the sun.

(V. 3) Through Vasishṭha who became angry with Viśvāmitra who had taken away (*his*) *kāmadhēnu* (cow of plenty), there was born Paramāra from the sacrificial fire on that (mountain).

(V. 4) In his family which by its heroic deeds surpassed the races of the sun and the moon[7] there was born a king named **Bhōja** who resembled Rāma in excellences.

(V. 5) After (*him*) there flourished his brother **Udayāditya** who uplifted the earth which had sunk under the attacks of three enemies.

(V. 6) The quarters and worlds were perforce occupied by his pure fame, the caverns by his enemies and the farthest directions by the poems of his supplicants.

(V. 7) To him who, though he had (*several*) sons, desired to have (*another*) son after his heart, was born the king **Jagaddēva** through (*his*) devotion to Hara.

[1] Metre of verses 10 and 11: *Anushṭubh*.

[2] Read पुष्पाधारे.

[3] Metre: *Śārdūl*.

[4] Metre of verses 13 and 14: *Anushṭubh*.

[5] One *akshara* is illegible here. [The text form अत्र देवाय to हर्त्तुमिच्छति seems also to be in verse.—Ed.]

[6] *I.e.* Vishṇu in his tortoise incarnation.

[7] *Puṣhparuṇa* means both the sun and the moon, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 60.

(V. 8) When his father went to heaven, he, renouncing for fear of (*incurring the sin of*) *parivitti*[1] Royal Fortune who had offered herself to him, presented her to his elder brother.

(V. 9) 'You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions, (*nay*), my very self'—He who was thus graciously addressed by the lord of Kuntala, is adorning the southern direction, having attained that very position.

(V. 10) When he showers gold and arrows on (*his*) supplicants and enemies, they giving up their treasure of poverty and forces (*respectively*), wait upon him without any apprehension.

(V. 11) There is not that country, that village, that community, that assembly (*or*) that (*place*) where Jagaddēva is not praised day and night.

(V. 12) That king, named the illustrious **Jagaddēva**, has granted by means of a charter (*and*) as a source of religious merit, the village **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa (*to be enjoyed by him*) as long as the moon and the sun will endure.

(Vv. 13-14) In that Ḍōṅgaragrāma granted by him, Śrīnivāsa, the abode of learning and character, (*who*) is the son of Śrīnidhi, the store of blessings, has caused (*this*) temple of Śiva to be constructed for the attainment of religious merit by (*his*) father. May it, faultless as it is, serve to adorn the earth until (*the time of*) world-destruction.

(Lines 7-8) He who would desire to appropriate after causing obstruction and snatching away what has been given by Śrīnivāsa to the god in this village, would be contaminated by the five great sins!

In the **Śaka year 1034**, the cyclic year Nandana, on the full-moon day of Chaitra, this charter has been written. The scribe is Viśvasvāmin. (*In the year*) 1034 (*on the fifteenth tithi of Chaitra*), also in figures 15.

No. 27.—SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The six copper-plate grants, which I am editing here, were discovered early in 1936 near **Ghumli** in the Nawanagar State of Kathiawar in the course of digging on the road side. They were briefly noticed by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for the year 1936-37, pp. 102-05. M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has published their text along with brief notes in his *Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly sent to me a good set of the ink-impressions of these plates with a request to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, made to me a number of valuable suggestions in connection with the present paper, which have been incorporated in it. I am grateful to him for his kind help.

The twelve copper-plates found at Ghumli contain the six records edited here, A consisting of three plates, C of one, and B, D, E, and F of two each. All of them record grants made by the rulers of the **Saindhava** family, which is at present known to have been ruling at ancient **Bhūtāmbilikā** or modern Ghumli from c. 740 to 920 A. D. The original name of the capital, which is uniformly spelt as Bhūtāmbilikā in our records, used to be popularly

[1] *I.e.* marrying before an elder brother marries. A man who did so was believed to go to hell.

contracted into Bhūmilikā, as shown by the Dhīnīki plates of Jāikadēva.[1] Bhūmilikā was later on contracted into Bhumli, and the present name Ghumli is a mere variant of it.

As very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas of Ghumli, it will be convenient to discuss it here in a connected manner in the light of the valuable information supplied by the present six charters and other contemporary epigraphs. This will obviate the necessity of repetition, while editing the different charters. The dynasty was ruling in Western Kāthiāwār, with its capital at Bhūtāmbilikā or Ghumli, which is situated about 25 miles north-east of Porbandar in a gorge of the Barda hills. Though once the capital of a fairly prosperous dynasty for about two centuries, its present site is nothing but a heap of ruins. All is now a jungle, where once a multitude of human beings resided. Very little remains at present as evidence of its former glory save a few remnants of a royal palace, a huge image of Hanumān with a large bathing reservoir by its side and some ruins of insignificant temples[2]. To judge from the present ruins, ancient Bhūtāmbilikā was about a mile in length and about half a mile in breadth. Its population may, therefore, have been about 15,000. The ground-plan of the town resembles a widespread fan. The ramparts of the town were strong and massive and were surrounded by a deep ditch.

Before the discovery of the present plates, very little was known about the Saindhavas of Saurāshṭra. The earliest reference to them is in a grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśi Janāśrnya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era, corresponding to A. D. 738-9, where they are mentioned among the kings defeated in the Arab raid that was repulsed at Naosari by the Chālukyas[3]. The next reference to them is in the Gwalior *Prashasti* of Bhōjadēva, the 8th verse of which describes the Saindhavas as being overwhelmed by the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa[4]. Nothing, however, was known about the precise locality of the Saindhava kingdom or the history and achievements of any particular ruler of the house. The Morbi plate, issued by king Jāika whom we can now assign to this dynasty, was known,[5] but as the plate recovered was the second one of the set, it could not be ascertained to which dynasty the grantor belonged.

The discovery of the present copper-plates now enables us to state definitely that the Saindhavas, who are referred to in the above records, were ruling in Western Kāthiāwār. Charter F of the present set, issued by Jāika II in Gupta Era 596 or A.D. 915-6 gives us the longest genealogy of the family. According to it, king **Pushyadēva**, who flourished seven generations earlier, was its founder. The name of the family is given here as *Jayadratha-vaṁśa* (l. 2). All the other charters, however, state that *Saindhava* was the name of the family. This discrepancy can be easily explained. According to the *Mahābhārata* king Jayadratha, the son-in-law of Dhṛitarāshṭra, was a ruler of the *Sindhu-dēśa* or Sindh. So those rulers who claimed descent from him could be described both as hailing from Sindh (Saindhava) and as ornaments of the Jayadratha family (*Jayadratha-vaṁśa-śēkhara*). In the earlier charters the first name is preferred, while in the latest one, the last one is introduced. The reason for this is not far to seek. As will be shown presently, Pushyadēva was probably an immigrant in Kāthiāwār from Sindh; so though he himself claimed to be descended from Jayadratha, he was known to his contemporaries as a Saindhava ruler. This name, therefore, was long in vogue. Later on when the tendency to claim an origin from a Puranic hero became quite

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.
[2] *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, (1839), pp. 73-80.
[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 109.
[4] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 281.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.

common in the 9th and 10th centuries, Jāika II reverted to the original name of the family, viz., *Jayadratha-vaṁśa*.

The time of Pushyadēva, the earliest ruler of the dynasty, can be only approximately determined. His grandson's great-grandson has issued Charter A in G. E. 513 (A. D. 832-3); he may, therefore, be presumed to have ruled from *c.* G. E. 415 to 435 (*c.* A. D. 734—754).[1]

We have now to consider the question whether this Pushyadēva is to be identified with the chief **Pushyēṇa** whose clay seal was found at Wala (ancient Valabhī) in Kāṭhiāwār. The legend on this seal reads as follows :—

1 *Ā Jayadrathād-avyavachchhinna-rāja-*
2 *vaṁśasya śrīr-mahā* [*r*]*āj-Ā*[*h*]*ivarma*[*yaḥ*]
3 *sūnō*[*r*]*-mahārāja-mahā*[*sēnā-*]
4 *pati-Pushyēṇa*[*sya*][2]

It will be seen from the above legend that the seal belonged to *Mahārāja Mahā*[*sēnā*]*pati* **Pushyēṇa**, son of *Mahārāja* **Ahivarman**, who claimed an uninterrupted descent from Jayadratha. Pushyadēva, the founder of the dynasty which has issued the present charters, is also described as an ornament of the Jayadratha family in Charter F. The name Pushyadēva of our charter is merely a paraphrase of the name Pushyēṇa of the seal, as both the terms *śra* and *dēva* indicate a lord or a king in Sanskrit. The variation in the spelling of the name need not therefore be regarded as throwing any impediment in the way of the proposed identification. Just as we have common variations like Gōvindadēva and Gōvindarāja we may as well have parallel forms like Pushyadēva and Pushyēṇa, as both *dēva* and *ṇa* denote a ruler.

As against the proposed identification it is possible to argue that the characters of the seal of Pushyēṇa are somewhat earlier than those of the middle of the 8th century A. D., which is the probable time of Pushyadēva. There is some force in this argument; especially the *mātrā* for medial *ā* would undoubtedly suggest that the record belongs to the 6th century A. D. Letters *ma*, *va* and *ha* on the seal, however, show a form which is seen to be current in the Valabhī records of the middle of the 8th century A. D. The *mātrās* for medial *ā* may therefore be instances of the survival of archaic forms, which we very often meet with in ancient Indian palæography. It is not impossible that Pushyēṇa may have selected these archaic *mātrās* to render forgery difficult. All things considered, it therefore looks very probable, though not absolutely certain, that *Jayadratha-vaṁśa-śēkhara* Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava house, is identical with Pushyēṇa of the Wala seal, who claimed an unbroken descent for his family from Jayadratha. The legend of the seal is in some places defective, but if the restoration proposed by Bühler is correct, it would appear that like many other founders of ruling families, Pushyadēva began his career as a general and ended by founding a feudatory principality. He seems to have been a feudatory of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The same was probably the case with his son Kṛishṇarāja, at least during the first half of his reign.

According to tradition, Bhūtāmbilikā, i.e. Ghumli, where the present plates were discovered, was the old capital of the Jeṭhvā Rājpūts, whose present representatives are the Rāṇās of Porbandar. There are various theories in the field about the origin of the term Jeṭhvā. Dr. Wilson has traced the origin of the name to the term **Jāṭ**, and has suggested tribal consanguinity between the Jāṭs and Jeṭhvās.[3] Jackson thinks that the Jeṭhvās are very probably

[1] See the genealogical table on p. 196.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 145; see also *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 274-5.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 145.

descended from the White Huns ; he holds that the term Jeṭhvā is probably derived from **Yetha**, the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Epthalite, which was the name of the ruling class of the White Huns.[1] According to the bardic tradition, the clan has derived its name from **Jeṭha**, the 95th ruler in the traditional genealogy of the rulers of Porbandar.[2] M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker thinks that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhavas of these grants. In support of this view he points out how charters A and B prove the supersession of the senior line of Kṛishṇarāja by the junior branch of Jāika I and observes : ' The descendants of Jāika as coming to the throne of Bhūmli were probably called Bhūmlias and the descendants of Kṛishṇarāja, who was *jyēṣṭha*, were called Jeṭhvās '.[3]

That all the above theories about the origin of the Jeṭhvās are fanciful and untenable can now be conclusively proved. The description of the founder of our house as the crest-jewel of the Jayadratha family and the claim made in the legend on his seal that he was directly descended from Jayadratha make it clear that the rulers of Porbandar eventually came to be known as **Jeṭhvās**, not because they belonged to any foreign stock like that of the White Huns or Jāṭs or represented the senior line of the Saindhavas, **but because they claimed the epic hero Jayadratha as the founder of their family.** Sanskrit Jayadratha becomes Jeṭha in Prākrit through the intermediate forms Jairath and Jaiaṭh. *Vā* was added at the end of the term Jeṭha under the influence of the ' quantity law ' of phonetics.

The theory of their descent from Jayadratha is, however, quite unknown to the modern Jeṭhvās, whose present representatives, the Rāṇās of Porbandar, trace their origin to Hanumān, the famous hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān also is the emblem on their flag.

The emblem of the Saindhavas of Bhūtāmbilikā is, however, fish. This was but natural also ; they claimed to be the masters of the western ocean and so must have proudly claimed fish to be their emblem, as did their contemporaries the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south. The difference in the seal emblems however need not go against the well established tradition that the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar originally hailed from Bhūtāmbilikā. The emblem on the seal or banner may have changed in later times. That the Jeṭhvās also had once fish or *makara* as their emblem on their banner would appear very probable from the fact that in their genealogy Makaradhvaja figures immediately after Hanumān, the founder of the family. This mysterious personage, Makaradhvaja, appears so early in their genealogy simply because Makara or fish was on their *dhwaja* or banner in early times, as Hanumān was in later days. The change of the emblem from fish to Hanumān may have been due to the Jeṭhvās becoming in later times the devotees of Rāma and his faithful servant Hanumān. That in early medieval times the kings of Bhūtāmbilikā venerated Hanumān along with Makara is rendered very probable, as pointed out by Bühler, by the circumstance that on the brackets of one of the ruined temples at Ghumli, the monkey emblem appears side by side with that of the fish.[4] Further support is lent to this view by the presence of a huge image of Hanumān near the remnants of the old palace in the ruins of Ghumli. In later times when the sea voyage became forbidden and the Jeṭhvās lost their command over the sea, the figure of Hanumān must have begun to appeal to them more than that of the fish. This must have led to the eventual abandonment of the fish emblem. During the period of our charters, however, the fish emblem was the only emblem of the dynasty; it invariably appears in the case of each of our five complete sets of copper-plates either on the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* ; Vol. VIII—*Kāṭhiāwāḍ*, pp. 621-2.

[3] M. M. Shastri, *The Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 6.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

seal or at the end of the last plate. It also appears at the end of the genuine Morbi and the spurious Dhīnīki plates of king Jāīka, who belonged to the same house.[1]

We have seen above that Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava dynasty, flourished between c. 515 and 535 G. E. (c. 734 and 754 A. D.). He began his career as a military commander and ended by founding a feudatory family. Though he claimed to belong to Jayadratha family, he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants from Sindh who had to leave that province after its conquest by the Arabs in 712 A.D.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśī Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era (A.D. 738-9), describes an Arab raid that had just then taken place and shows how it had overpowered the Saindhava, Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāpa and Gurjara chiefs.[2] It is almost certain that the Saindhavas who are mentioned here have to be identified with the family of our charters, whose founder Pushyadēva was at that time just trying to settle down in some northern corner of Kāthiāwār. The chief who suffered from the Arab raid was probably Pushyadēva himself, as the approximate period of his reign is A.D. 734-754.

The Saindhavas were at that time mere feudatories as their own charters, as well as those of their contemporaries, would clearly show. They could therefore hardly have dreamt of claiming for themselves any imperial position or titles; in fact they never claimed these at any time in their career. And yet the Dhīnīki plates, purporting to be issued in *Saṁvat* 794 (A.D. 738) refer to their grantor, king Jāikadēva, as an imperial ruler enjoying the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*.[3] This Jāikadēva was no doubt intended to be a Saindhava chief, for his capital was Bhūmilikā and seal emblem the fish. The long genealogy of the Saindhavas given in Charter F reaches back to the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. but knows of no chief named Jāikadēva ruling at that time. **It is therefore clear that the Dhīnīki grant is a forgery**; this conclusion is also supported by some other circumstances like the palæography of the plates and the non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given in the plates. The data of the Dhīnīki plates therefore cannot cast any doubt on the conclusion above arrived at, viz. at c. 740 A.D. Pushyadēva and not Jāikadēva was the ruling Saindhava king, and that he was a mere feudatory.

Pushyadēva or Pushyēṇa was succeeded by his son **Kṛishṇarāja** and the latter by his son **Agguka** I, whose rule may be approximately placed in the periods from 435 to 455 G. E. (A.D. 754 to 774) and from 455 to 475 G. E. (A.D. 774 to 794) respectively. During the reigns of these two monarchs also, Kāthiāwār suffered a good deal from Arab invasions. As these were naval invasions coming direct from Sindh, and as the Saindhavas were in those days the leading Hindu naval power of Kāthiāwār, they must have borne the brunt of attack. It must be said to their credit that they eventually came out victorious from the struggle and did not succumb to it like the Maitrakas of Valabhī. In c. 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada and the invasion was repeated 20 years later. The Muslim historians tell us that though the last expedition succeeded in capturing the town of Barada, sickness swept away a great portion of the army and the remaining were swept away in a shipwreck on the coast of Persia. The experience was so bitter that, we are told, the Muslims were deterred from making further attempts at aggrandisement in that direction.[4]

[1] [It may be recalled that the emblem on Jayadratha's banner was a boar, *varāha*.—B. C. C.]

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 109.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 151.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 444. There is some doubt about the spelling of the name of the place attacked but Dowson feels satisfied that the spelling is really Barada.

The town of Barada attacked by the Muslims may have been either the village Bardia, which is ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar, or Bhūtāmbilikā itself, which is situated in the vicinity of the Barada hills. From the Muslim version of the expedition it appears that though the Muslims were successful in the beginning, they had eventually to leave the country. For aught we know, the sickness of the army may have been as much responsible for this evacuation as the bravery of the Saindhava defenders. It is really a pity that Charters A and B, which take the genealogy back to the time of Aggaka I, should have indulged in merely a general description of his bravery, instead of giving us a vivid account of this definite historic achievement. In Charter F, however, we have a vague reference to the repulsing of the Muslim invasion, when we are told that Aggaka showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies (ll. 4-5). The naval supremacy of the Saindhavas, to which five of our charters expressly refer, must have been of great help to them in driving back the Arabs. This achievement of theirs was indeed noteworthy, when we remember the modest size of their principality.

Aggaka I was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**, who may be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 475 to 495 (A. D. 794 to 814). M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has attributed Charter C (his Plate A) to this ruler; it will, however, be shown in the introduction to that plate how this attribution is untenable. We have so far recovered no grant given by this ruler.

No contemporary grants of the first four rulers of the Saindhava family have so far been recovered, but there is no doubt that they were mere feudatories as stated above. The epithet *Apara-Surāshṭrāmaṇḍala-maṇḍana* used in connection with the members of this family in most of its genuine records shows that its sphere of influence never extended much beyond Western Kāthiāwār. It would, however, appear that they had developed considerable naval strength, for our charters invariably describe them as the masters of the Western Ocean. The Mers, who were prominent among the subjects of the Saindhavas, were well known for their maritime activities. Arab historians admit that they were a great maritime power in Kāthiāwār during the 8th and the 9th centuries.[1] They must obviously have enabled their rulers, the Saindhavas, to rule the Western Ocean. The title *Apara-samudr-ādhipati* taken in all our complete charters by the Saindhavas is therefore no empty boast. In seeking to retain the command over the seas, the Saindhavas had shown a foresight evinced by few rulers of ancient India.

Two sons of king Rāṇaka figure in Charters A and B. Of these **Kṛishṇarāja II** was the elder and **Jāika I** was the younger. They were half-brothers, for Jāika is expressly described as a *vaimātrō bhrātā* in Charter A. Kṛishṇarāja II succeeded his father in due course in c. 495 G. E. (A. D. 814). A large number of florid epithets have been used to describe his glory and valour in Charter A and one or two of them undoubtedly refer to some contemporary political events. He is described as full of enthusiasm in troubling the host of his enemies, the Chāpins, in l. 15 of Charter A. The same observation has been made in almost identical words about his younger brother Jāika I and the latter's two sons, kings Chāmuṇḍa and Aggaka. These four rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 874 A. D., as will be shown,[2] and they all seem to have been at war with the Chāpins or the Chāpas. There were two Chāpa families ruling in Northern Gujarāt and North-east Kāthiāwār at this time. The one founded by Vanarāja was ruling at Aṇahilapaṭṭana since c. 765 A. D., while the other to which king Dharaṇīvarāha of the Haḍḍālā plates of the Śaka year 836 belonged, was ruling at Wadhwan since c. 850 A. D. Since in all our records the Saindhavas describe themselves as the lords of Western Saurāshṭra

[1] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 114 and pp. 519-31.

[2] See the genealogical and chronological table, p. 196.

only, it is almost certain that the Chāpa enemies of kings Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka (*c.* 849 to 874 A. D.) were Chāpa kings Vikramārka and Aḍḍaka of Wadhwan, who were the great-grandfather and grandfather respectively of king Dharaṇīvarāha. If there were no ancestors of Vikramārka ruling at Wadhwan before his time, then the Chapa enemies of Kṛishṇarāja II and his brother Jāika I, who ruled from *c.* 814 to 849 A. D., would be Chāpa rulers Yōgarāja and Ratnāditya of the Aṇahilapaṭṭana dynasty, who were ruling during the first half of the 9th century A. D.[1] The fact that as many as four successive Saindhava kings are seen to be at war with the Chāpas would show that there was a hereditary feud between these two neighbouring dynasties, as was the case between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas or between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratīhāras. The fights, however, must have been mostly of the nature of frontier skirmishes.

Charter A describes king Kṛishṇarāja II as a ruler who had, like Bharata propitiated Rāma by his steady and proper behaviour (l. 15). This statement has also been made with reference to his brother Jāika I and the latter's son Agguka in Charters B and D. It is almost certain that a *double entendre* is intended to be conveyed by the expression *Bharata iv-ācharad-uchita-samārādhita-Rāmaḥ*. The identity of king Rāma to whom kings Kṛishṇarāja and Jāika I had shown unswerving loyalty is not difficult to find out. These rulers were ruling from *c.* 814 to 849 A. D., as will presently be shown; the overlord to whom they were devotedly loyal must be the **Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra**, who ruled from *c.* 833 to 836 A. D. From the 8th verse in the Gwalior *praśasti* of Pratīhāra Bhōja I we learn that the Saindhavas were among the rulers signally defeated by the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II,[2] who is known to have ruled from *c.* 805 to 833 A. D. The Saindhava kings, who must have felt the brunt of the rising Pratīhāra power under Nāgabhaṭa II, must have been Rāṇaka I (*c.* 794 to 814 A. D.), Kṛishṇarāja II (*c.* 814 to 824 A. D.), and his younger brother Jāika I (*c.* 824 to 849 A. D.)[3]. It would appear that the campaign in Kāthiāwār was entrusted by Nāgabhaṭa II to the crown-prince Rāmabhadra, who, on its successful termination, seems to have been appointed Viceroy over the western provinces by his father Nāgabhaṭa. After their defeat by the Pratīhāras, Kṛishṇarāja II and Jāika I appear to have remained loyal to the royal Viceroy Rāmabhadra and are, therefore, fittingly described as propitiating Rāma by their steady and proper behaviour. This statement has been made also in connection with Agguka, son of Jāika I, in Charter D, though he was not a contemporary of Rāmabhadra either as a crown-prince or as an emperor, the period of his reign being *c.* A. D. 849 to 869.[4] It is, however, not difficult to explain how this mistake has taken place. In our present set of charters, a number of epithets have been bodily transferred from one ruler to another in several places. The use of *Bharata iv-ācharad-uchita-samārādhita-Rāmaḥ* in the case of Agguka would be an illustration of this tendency.

From the time of Kṛishṇarāja II (*c.* 820 A. D.), the Saindhavas became the feudatories of the Pratīhāras as shown above. The Pratīhāras, however, were not able to exercise the same rigorous control over their administration as they had imposed upon the government of many of their other feudatories. The Ūnā plates of Balavarman[5] show that the members of the feudatory Chālukya house, which was ruling contemporaneously with the Saindhavas as a feudatory of the Pratīhāras in Southern Kāthiāwār, could not make any land-grants without the consent of the officers of the imperial government. The grant of Dharaṇīvarāha,[6] who was ruling as a Pratīhāra feudatory at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār, shows that he did

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, P. 193.
[2] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 280.
[3] During the reign period here assigned to Jāika I, the period of his regency is also included.
[4] See below p. 194.
[5] *Asie*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

not or perhaps dared not omit to mention the name of his feudal lord, Mahēndrapāla, through whose favour he was enjoying his principality. All the Saindhava grants, including the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva, have, however, been issued without any permission, express or implied, of the imperial power or its local representatives. The *dūtaka* of Charter B is no doubt an officer named Pratihāra Kṛishṇa. There is nothing to indicate that he was a local representative of the imperial power. The utmost that can possibly be said is that he may have belonged to the same ethnic stock to which the Pratīhāra emperors belonged. He was, however, no doubt an officer serving under Jāika I and executing his orders. He owed no allegiance to the Pratīhāras, nor was he responsible to them like Dhūka of the Ūnā plates, who is found signing the charter of the feudatory king Balavarman on behalf of his imperial master.[1] Probably Kṛishṇa, the *dūtaka*, was holding the office of the *Pratīhāra* (chamberlain) in the royal court, as was the case with many other *dūtakas*.[2]

It is also worth noting that if we leave the veiled reference to their loyalty to emperor Rāmabhadra, the Saindhavas nowhere acknowledge the Pratīhāras as their overlords. When however we remember that eastern, southern and northern Kāthiāwār was under the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of Mahēndrapāla, when we note how the Pratīhāras claim to have defeated the Saindhavas, and when due allowance is made for the fact that the Saindhavas never claim to be anything more than mere feudatories, the conclusion becomes irresistible that their overlords were no other rulers than the imperial Pratīhāras of Kanauj even during the latter half of the 9th century and onwards. They were, however, able and clever enough to secure for themselves a much larger share of internal autonomy than was ever conceded to their eastern and southern neighbours. The valuable assistance which the Saindhava navy could give to the Pratīhāras in their struggles with the Arabs was probably the main reason for this preferential treatment.

Let us resume our account of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II. He is described in Charter A as ridiculing Duryōdhana and drinking the blood of Duśśāsana like Bhīma. It is possible that here also there may be a pun and a veiled reference to Kṛishṇarāja's fight with some real historical kings named Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana, hitherto unknown to us. This, however, is not very probable; for the expression showing comparison to Bhīma has been used also with reference to Jāika I in Charter B, Agguka in Charter D and Chāmuṇḍa in Charter E. All these kings could not have fought with the same rulers Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana. It is therefore very improbable that any historic events lie concealed in the above comparisons.

Kṛishṇarāja is further described as a ruler who had pleased the inhabitants of Parvata, and who therefore resembled Śaṅkara, who was a source of delight to the relations of (Himālaya) Parvata (mountain). The expression containing the above description has been used with reference to three other rulers, Jāika I and his sons Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions who were pleased with these four rulers were obviously the residents of the territory round about the Barada hills, in the vicinity of which Bhūtāmbilikā, the Saindhava capital, was situated. It is therefore clear that this city had become the Saindhava capital at least as early as the reign of Kṛishṇāraja I (c. 820 A.D.). Unless we assume that the draftsman of Charter F is guilty of anachronism, we shall have to concede that Bhūtāmbilikā was the Saindhava capital even as early as the time of Pushyadēva, for he has been described in that Charter as *Bhūtāmbilik-ālkhidhāna-nagarī-garīyaḥ*, etc. (l. 1).

The tradition represents the Jeṭhvās as ruling at Morbi before they were established at Ghumli. Our charters are however silent on the point. Nor does the Morbi plate of Jāikadēva

[1] See Balavarman's plates *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 6, text l. 36; see also Avanivarman's plates, *ibid.*, p. 9, text l. 52.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 291, text l. 8., Vol. XIX, p. 304, text l. 27.

support the above tradition. This plate was issued in A.D. 904, that is to say, long after Bhūtāmbilikā had become the Saindhava capital; nor does it state that Morbi was the original home of the Jeṭhvās. For aught we know, if the first Morbi plate is discovered, it will be found to have been issued from Bhūtāmbilikā like all other Saindhava charters; it may have been taken to Morbi by the donee or his descendants.

Kṛishṇarāja died comparatively young; for Charter A shows that his son and successor **Agguka II** was a young boy at his death, and that the administration had to be carried on by his uncle Jāika. Since this charter is issued in 513 G. E. (A.D. 832-3), and since by that time the plan of usurpation of Jāika was almost complete, we may place the death of Kṛishṇarāja II in *c.* 505 G. E. (*c.* 824 A.D.). He thus had a short reign of about ten years only.

Poor Agguka, the son and successor of Kṛishṇarāja II, shared the usual fate of minor rulers, who have the misfortune of having as their guardians ambitious and unscrupulous uncles. Agguka had such an uncle in Jāika and he was his step-uncle too. In Charter A, ll. 23-24, Jāika no doubt boasts that though Kamalā (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united to him in preference to Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian of his young and inexperienced nephew. This profession however is belied by the indications given by other parts of the charter; he does not give the usual titles of a reigning feudatory to his nephew but takes them for himself. The grant of the village also has been made, not in the name of the minor heir, but in that of the so-called regent himself. In the colophon of the charter, its writer also refers to Jāika, and not to Agguka, as the reigning king. It is therefore clear that the plans of usurpation of Jāika were almost complete when Charter A was issued in A.D. 832-3. The actual usurpation took place before the issue of Charter B, where we find Jāika I mentioning himself as the ruling king, and omitting all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. This charter is unfortunately not dated, and so we can get only an approximate idea of the time of usurpation. We have already seen that at the time of the issue of Charter A in 513 G. E. the usurpation was almost complete except in name; the actual supersession could not have been delayed probably beyond 515 G. E.

It would appear that Jāika I allowed Agguka to rule as a feudatory under himself after he had usurped the throne, exercising jurisdiction over a portion of his kingdom. For we find Agguka's son **Rāṇaka** issuing the land-grant mentioned in Charter C. Unfortunately this charter is incomplete and so its date is not known. We would not be far wrong if we assume that after his supersession in *c.* 515 G. E. (835 A. D.), Agguka continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for another 25 years. His son Rāṇaka may therefore be taken to have ruled from *c.* 540 to 560 G. E. (*c.* 859 to 879 A. D.).

Let us now revert to the career of the usurper Jāika I. He and his descendants eventually became the leaders of the Saindhava family. As shown already, he ascended the throne in *c.* 515 G. E. (*c.* 834 A. D.). As he succeeded an elder brother and his minor son, he may be presumed to have ruled only for about 15 years, *i.e.*, up to *c.* 530 G. E. (A. D. 849). As shown already, he continued to remain a loyal feudatory of the Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra. In his reign also there were several skirmishes with his eastern neighbours, the Chāpas of Wadhwan.

Jāika I died in *c.* 849 A. D., leaving behind him two sons, **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and **Agguka**. Charters D, E and F make it absolutely clear that the little Saindhava kingdom was further subdivided between these brothers on the death of Jāika I. Rāṇaka, a grandson of Jāika I, through his son Agguka, is seen to be issuing Charter D in 555 G. E.; 12 years later, *i.e.*, in 567 G. E., another grandson of Jāika I, named Agguka, through his son Chāmuṇḍarāja, is found to be giving Charter E. In the genealogy of Charter F issued in 596 G. E., Agguka and Rāṇaka of Charter D are altogether passed over; Jāika I is stated to have been succeeded by his son

Chāmuṇḍarāja and the latter by his son Agguka III and this last by his son Jāika II. It is therefore clear that both the sons of Jāika I founded separate ruling houses.

Our charters do not make it clear as to which of the two sons of Jāika I was the elder one. It would however appear that Agguka was the younger one, as he and his son are passed over in the genealogy of Charter F. In Charter D Rāṇaka, the grantor, is stated to have been placed upon the throne by his father Agguka in his own lifetime. This may probably be due to Agguka's apprehension that his elder brother may resume his principality after his death.

Since Charter D of king Rāṇaka is issued in 555 G. E. and Charter E of his cousin Agguka in 567 G. E., it is possible to argue that there was no further subdivision of the Saindhava kingdom after the death of Jāika I. Rāṇaka, the grantor of Charter D, may have died soon after that charter was issued in 555 G. E. and may have been succeeded by his uncle Chāmuṇḍarāja; the latter after a naturally short reign may have been succeeded by his son Agguka, the grantor of Charter E, some time before 567 G. E. As against this view, it may be pointed out that Rāṇaka of Charter D had a grown-up son named Jāika, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 555 G. E. In the normal course of events, therefore, his succession could not have devolved upon his uncle. It is further to be noted that in Charter E issued in 567 G. E. there is a statement made in ll. 5-6 that the Saindhava family had at that time 'numerous branches and leaves', *aparimita-snigdha-tara-patra-śākhā-suñchaya-śāli*. It is interesting to note that this statement does not occur in the earlier charters of the Saindhava family. It would therefore show, in the light of the further evidence of Charters C and D, that there were at least three branches of the Saindhava family ruling in Western Kāthiāwār during the third quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Saindhava kingdom was no doubt a small one, but this tripartite division need not only on that account be pronounced as improbable, as the example of the Paṭvardhans ruling in the Southern Marāṭhā Country at present would show. The small patrimony of this Sardar family of the Peshwas, hardly equal to a normal district in British India, has been divided into four petty kingdoms of Sangli, Miraj, Mirajmalā, and Kurundwāḍ.

Members of all the three Saindhava houses are seen to be issuing their grants from Bhūtāmbilikā. Though there is some evidence of mutual jealousy, we do not find them fighting with one another. It would therefore appear that they were all staying at Bhūtāmbilikā, their ancestral capital, but ruling over different parts of their ancestral kingdom, more like members of a federation than as rulers of separate states. Our charters supply some evidence about the manner in which the ancestral territories were divided among the three branches, but it is very difficult to interpret. Charter C would show that the district of **Pachchhatrī** was under the seniormost branch of Kṛishṇarāja,[1] while Charter D would indicate that the district of **Suvarṇamañjarī** was allotted to the juniormost branch of Agguka.[2] But Charters B, E, and F show that both the above districts were included in the kingdom of the branch founded by Jāika I. We can reconcile these conflicting statements only by assuming that the seniormost and juniormost branches were ruling not over the whole but part of the two districts mentioned above, and that the leading family founded by Jāika I held sway over portions of both of them.

Let us now resume the history of the family. It will be convenient to finish first the account of the **juniormost branch** of **Agguka**. This ruler succeeded his father Jāika I in c. 530 G. E. (c. 849 A.D.); his reign may therefore be placed between 530 and 550 G. E. (c. 849-869 A.D.). In Charter D issued by his son Rāṇaka, this ruler has been described in adjectives which have been used for his predecessors in earlier grants; they therefore do not enable us to get a clear idea of his personality or achievements.

[1] Cf. the expression: *yathā nayā sva-bhujyamāna-Pachchhatrī-vishay-ānuddyāti-* in Charter C, l. 18.

[2] Cf. the expression: *yathā nayā sva-bhujyamāna-Suvarṇamañjarī-vishaya-* in Charter D, ll. 27-8.

Agguka was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**. His copper-plate grant, Charter D of our series, has been issued in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5). We may therefore place his reign between c. 550 G. E. and 570 G. E. (c. 869-889 A. D.). From his charter we learn that his father had abdicated in his favour and participated in his coronation himself. The probable implication of this statement has been already discussed on the preceding page. The description of this ruler in Charter D does not enable us to form any opinion about his achievements, as it is all conventional. Nor does it throw any light on contemporary history.

Already in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5) Rāṇaka had a grown-up Yuvarāja named Jāïka who figures as the *dūtaka* of Charter D. It is not known whether this prince succeeded his father. His name has been omitted in the long genealogy given in Charter F issued in 596 G. E., but that may be due to his having belonged to a collateral branch. There are no indications of the independent existence of this branch having come to an end with Rāṇaka, and we may therefore well assume that the crown prince Jāïka of Charter D ruled from c. 570 to 590 G. E. (A. D. 889-909).

Let us now resume the history of **main Saindhava branch**, which was continued by **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, the eldest son of Jāïka I. This ruler may be presumed to have ruled from c. 530 to 555 G. E. (c. 849 to 874 A.D.). Charters E and F describe this ruler; his description is however all conventional and useless for the purpose of reconstructing sober history.

Chāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by his son **Agguka III**. As he has issued Charter E in 567 G. E., we may place his reign from c. 555 to 580 G. E. (874 to 899 A. D.). Charters E and F no doubt introduce some new expressions in the description of this ruler. No specific historic events have however been mentioned, and so we can say hardly anything definite about his achievements.

Agguka III was succeeded by his son **Jāïka II**. As he has issued Charter F in 596 G. E., his reign may be safely placed from c. 580 to 600 G. E. (c. 899 to 919 A.D.). His charter compares him with a number of gods and heroes, but mentions not a single historic exploit.

King Jāïka of the Morbi plate is most probably to be identified with this ruler.[1] That plate was issued in 585 G. E. when this ruler was on the throne. As only the concluding plate of the Morbi grant has been recovered, the names of the family and ancestors of king Jāïka are not known. The fish emblem at the end of that plate would however show that he belonged to the Saindhava family. Ll. 5-7 of the Morbi plate of Jāïka are identical with ll. 31-2 of the Charter F in our set. Both the charters have been composed by the same individual, Jhōjjha. Dēddaka the engraver of the Morbi plates was a brother of Madhusūdana, the engraver of our Charter F of Jāïka II, as both of them have been described as sons of Śaṅkara. It is therefore almost certain that the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. were issued by the same Jāïka, who has issued our Charter F in 596 G. E. Had there not been another Jāïka, son of king Rāṇaka of Charter D, ruling at this time in the 3rd Saindhava branch, the above identification would have become a mathematical certainty. We have however seen that the rule of this Jāïka has to be placed from c. 570 to 590 G. E. He could therefore well have issued the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. with the fish emblem at the end. We however notice from Charters E and F that Jhōjjha, the composer of these records, was a protégé of kings Agguka III and Jāïka II belonging to the main Saindhava branch. It is this very person who has composed the Morbi record. This circumstance would show that king Jāïka of the Morbi record is more likely to be Jāïka II, son of

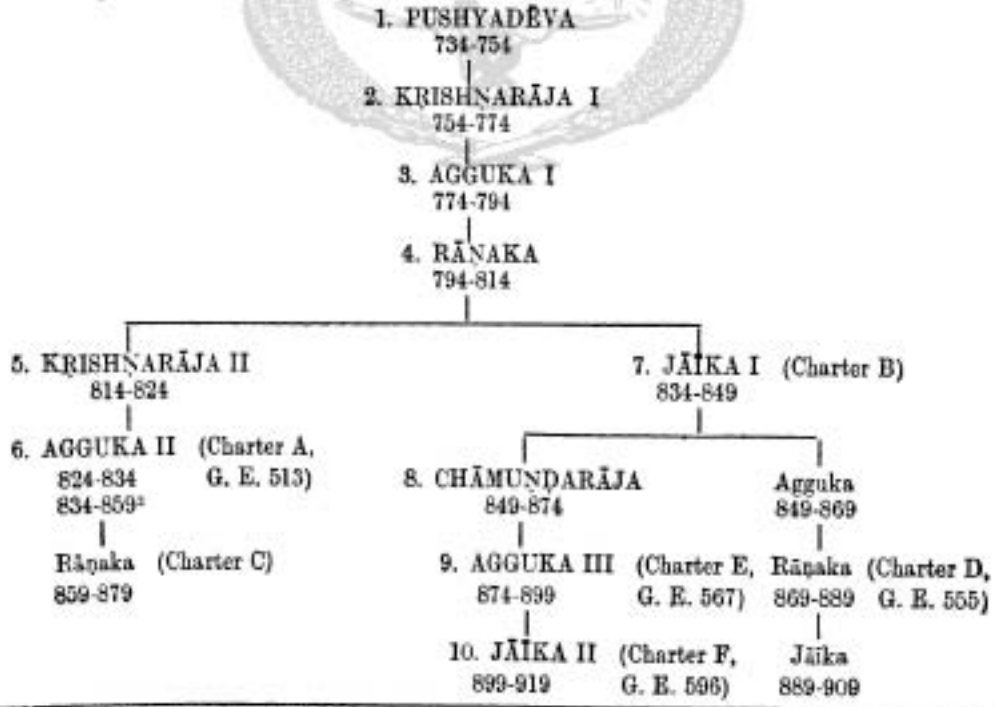
[1] R. G. Bhandarkar reads this king's name as Jāïnka (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8). This is no doubt a possible reading, but the form of the second letter of this name as given in Charter D, l. 7 of this set shows that the name was really Jāïka.

Agguka III of the main branch, than king Jāika, son of king Rāṇaka of the third Saindhava branch.

We shall now briefly consider the extent of the Saindhava kingdom. From c. 850 A.D. the Chāpas had been established at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār as is made clear by the Haḍḍālā grant of Dharaṇīvarāha.[1] The ancestors of the Chālukya chief Balavarman had been established in Southern Kāthiāwār a few decades earlier, as their Ūnā grants show. The kingdom of the Saindhavas could therefore not have extended beyond the western portion of Kāthiāwār. They themselves also do not claim to be ruling over any larger area, as the description of their family *Apara-Surāshṭrā-maṇḍala-maṇḍana* in our grants shows. Villages granted by them are also all situated in Western Kāthiāwār.

Many of the rulers, whose history has been discussed above, are described as having distinguished themselves on battle-fields. These wars may refer either to their naval conflicts with the Arabs of Sindh or to ordinary skirmishes with their eastern neighbours. As already pointed out above, they were the feudatories of the Pratīhāras, but they do not seem to have taken any part in any of the famous campaigns of their imperial sovereigns. The Ūnā plates show that Bāhukadhavala, the grandfather of the grantor, had taken active part in the campaigns of his overlord against the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Saindhavas do not seem to have emulated the example of their neighbours in the south-east. They probably felt that they need not exhaust their limited resources in order to strengthen the power of their imperial masters.

We now append below a genealogical tree of this family along with its branches. The names of the rulers of the **main branch** are given in BOLD type. Approximate time of their rule is given in each case in A. D. Charters issued by different rulers are shown after their names with years in Gupta Era.



[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.

[2] This is the time of his rule as a feudatory of his uncle, Jāika I and cousin Chāmuṇḍarāja.

Very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas subsequent to the middle of the 10th century A. D. Bhūtāmbilikā continued to prosper for at least another three hundred years; for when Lieut. Jacob had visited the site of Ghumli in 1838 he could trace in its ruins inscriptions dated in the years 1062 and 1229 A. D.[1] The bardic account which attributes the ruin of the city to a Muslim invasion from Sindh in c. 1313 A. D., therefore, seems to be substantially correct.[2]

A.—Grant of the time of Agguka II; [Gupta] Saṁvat 513.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **three copper-plates**, which have been held together by two rings passing through two holes near the edge. The ends of the rings have been soldered together, and one of them has been impressed with a **seal** bearing the emblem of a **fish**, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The size of the first plate is $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, of the second, $13\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, and of the third, $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. The total weight of the plates, rings and the seal is $326\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*. The engraving of the record is very deep and shows on the back of each plate. That is probably the reason why the central plate does not as usual bear the inscription on both the sides.

There are 12 lines on the first plate, 15 on the second and 18 on the third. After the first plate was inscribed, it was realised that the record could not be finished in three plates unless not only was the number of lines per plate increased, but also the size of the letters reduced. Both these steps were taken by the engraver, as can be seen by a glance at the plates. The engraving has been well done and mistakes are few. They have been indicated in the text and notes and no further comment is necessary here.

The **characters** of the record are proto-Nāgarī ones and bear a general resemblance to those of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III,[3] which were issued from northern Gujarāt 24 years earlier. The forms of the letters *sa*, *ra* and *ka* of the latter record slightly differ from those in the present one; but they are similar to those in Charters D, E and F of this series.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its style is of the courtly poetry. It is very florid and abounds in long compounds; the writer spares no pains in producing a remarkable array of alliterative phrases. There is an abundance of similes and metaphors, though they are of the usual hackneyed type. There are several expressions with a *double entendre*, as is the case with the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Our record may be confidently cited as a good example of poetic prose, written in a style, which has always excited admiration of the Pandit educated in the old fashion.

The above observations about the language and style hold good of all the charters that are being edited here. It may therefore well be concluded that the Saindhava rulers, who had in their secretariate officers of such remarkable literary ability, must have been great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The fact that the *dūtaka* of the present charter is a poet named Bāla would show that men of literary attainments could get responsible posts in the Saindhava administration.

The colophon at the end of the record tells us that its composer was **Kapila, son of Vikkaṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas.** Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār were under the Śaka rule for more than three centuries and this must have resulted in the settlement of a large

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 75 and 77.
[2] *Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 625.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 244-5.

Śaka population in these provinces. Our record would show that even when four centuries had elapsed since the disappearance of the Śaka rule, the Śakas retained some individuality of their own and could be distinguished from the general population. Probably they had formed a caste of their own, but were otherwise completely Hinduised. When this separate Śaka caste completely merged in Hindu society is not known at present.

Though a Śaka, Kapila, the composer of our record, shows a remarkable command not only over Sanskrit language but also over its difficult *kāvya* style. And this need not cause any surprise, for as early as the second century A. D., we find Rudradāman, the third king of the Śaka house of Chashṭana, claiming that he was a master of Sanskrit grammar and logic and could compose both prose and poetry of a very high order.[1] The available evidence would thus show that, though foreigners, the Śakas conceived a great fascination for Sanskrit language and culture and became its patrons and devotees at least in Kāthiāwār.

The usual imprecatory verses apart, the record is in prose with the exception of two verses occurring at its fag end. The first of these gives us information about the name and family of the composer and the second one summarises the contents of the grant by mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant. Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate.

The **orthography** calls for only a few remarks. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second letter is usually doubled; cf. *gurvva* in l. 3. (2) The *anusvāra* before *śa* is indicated sometimes by a guttural nasal as in *vaṅśa* in l. 7 and sometimes by the dental one as in *vaṃśa* in l. 34 and in *bhraṃśa* in ll. 35-6. (3) The rules of *sandhi* are usually followed, but there are a few mistakes in this connection; cf. *karavillaiva* for *karavūla iva*, l. 6, *dharmmaḥ mārttimān* for *dharmmō mūrttimān*, ll. 10-11, etc.

The copper-plates record a grant of a village made in the reign of the **Saindhava king Agguka II**, son of **Kṛishṇarāja**. The actual grantor is, however, Jāika, the uncle of the ruling king who was a minor when the grant was made. This is rendered quite certain by ll. 23-4 of the record, which state that though embraced by the goddess Kamalā, who was anxious for dalliance on his chest, Jāika thought that his nephew ought to be protected and reared by him. At the time of the issue of the charter, Jāika therefore professed to be a mere regent, administering the government on behalf of his minor nephew. Agguka however was a mere puppet; for the charter does not give him any legal titles whatsoever. The regent on the other hand is described with all the usual titles of a ruling feudatory. How he eventually superseded his nephew has been already discussed above in the general introduction (*ante*, p. 193).

The grant is dated; it was made in Saṁvat 513 on the 12th day (of an unspecified month) on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa. As the dates in the remaining charters of this series, when given, are expressly declared to be referring to the Gupta era, there can be no doubt whatever that the date of this charter is also to be referred to the same era. The *Uttarāyaṇa* of 831 A. D. took place on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 1, of 832 A. D. on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 12, and of

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 44. *Śabdārtha-gāndharva-nyāy-ādyānāṁ vidyānāṁ mahatīnāṁ pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-avāpta-vipula-kīrttiṇā sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kānta-śabdasamayōdār-ālaṅkṛita-gadya-padya.....*

833 A. D. on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 7. It is therefore clear that our grant was made on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 12 of the Gupta Saṁvat 513, which corresponds to **Sunday, the 22nd of December 832 A. D.** The date of the charter is given at its end and in numerals only. The **symbols for the numerals** are rather unusual, but a comparison with those in charter F, where the date is given both in words and in numerals, makes it quite clear that the correct reading is 513.

The grantee of the record was **Mādhava, son of Kalyāṇa,** who was a Ṛigvēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Sāṁkṛityа *gōtra* and a resident of **Sōmēśvara**, which is obviously to be identified with famous Sōmanātha. He was given the whole village of **Ḍhaṅkatīrtha** and one tenth the share of the village of **Gulamikā** in order to enable him to perform the usual Brahmanical rites and sacrifices. These villages were situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**, which was being governed by the grantor himself. Pachchhatrī, the headquarters of the district, is probably to be identified with the modern village **Pāchhtardī,** six miles to the west of Ghumli. Ḍhaṅkatīrtha, the village granted, is obviously the same as **Dhānk** in Gondal state, situated about 25 miles east of Ghumli. Dhānk is situated on the outskirts of a hill of the same name and figures as a holy place in Jain tradition.[1] I am unable to identify Gulamikā, one tenth of whose revenues were also assigned to the donee.

A large number of officers are mentioned in this record, while the grant is being announced by the king. They are the following: 1. *Mantrī*, 2. *Purōhita*, 3. *Amātya*, 4. *Janapada*, 5. *Yuvarāja*, 6. *Rājasthānīya*, 7. *Pramātṛi*, 8. *Balādhikṛita*, 9. *Uparika*, 10. *Vishayapati*, 11. *Śaulkika*, 12. *Dussādhasādhanika*, 13. *Chōrōddharaṇika*, 14. *Vaikshēpika*, 15. *Chāra* and 16. *Bhaṭa*. All these officers are mentioned in Charters B and D also. In Charter C, Nos. 4 and 7 are omitted but *Sēnāpati* has been added; in Charter E, Nos. 1 and 2 are dropped; in Charter F, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 and 11 are not mentioned and *Dēśādhipati* has been added. Among these officers the functions of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are quite clear. No. 4 *Janapada* cannot obviously refer to people in general; it probably refers to representatives of people or members of the Janapada assembly, though one would like to have a more convincing evidence about the existence of such a body at this period. No. 6 *Rājasthānīya* means a viceroy, No. 8 *Balādhikṛita* denotes the commander-in-chief; No. 9 *Uparika* was a provincial viceroy under the Gupta administration, superior in status to *Vishayapati* or the district officer, who is here also mentioned after the *Uparika*[2]. No. 12 *Dussādhasādhanika* probably denoted those officers of the *Chōrōddharaṇika* class, who were entrusted with the difficult task of apprehending dacoits and other dangerous criminals. I am unable to offer any suggestions about the function of No. 14 *Vaikshēpika*.

Most of these officers are mentioned in charters issued by each of the three branches of the Saindhava kingdom. The original kingdom was a small one and its branches must have been quite tiny; one may therefore well doubt whether even the parent kingdom had all these officers working in its administration. This suspicion becomes stronger when we remember that in Charter F, which is the most business-like and carefully drafted document of this series, a large number of these officers are omitted. It is interesting to add that the officers dropped out in this charter are just those whose existence otherwise appears to be doubtful. One wonders whether in this small kingdom *Mantrins* would have existed as a class of officers separate from the *Amātyas*; they are omitted in this record. A viceroy presupposes a large kingdom, which the Saindhavas did not possess; *Rājasthānīya* is omitted in Charter F. There was no room for both the *Vishayapatis* and *Uparikas* in the Saindhava administration; the latter of them have been omitted in Charter F. It would therefore appear that some of the officers mentioned in

[1] *Viridhakalpatīrtha*, edited by Śrī-Jinaprabhasuri, p. 1.

[2] [The office of *Uparika* has been discussed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 134 and also in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 231-33, wherein has been explained to correspond to that of a Magistrate.—B. C. J.

our grants did not really function in the Saindhava administration ; they are merely mentioned to make the list exhaustive.

Among the commoners to whom the grants have been announced, only Brāhmaṇas and traders are mentioned. This would show that as early as the 9th century A.D. Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār had developed their present commercial traditions and that merchants had come to be recognised as a class as important as the Brāhmaṇas. The bracketing of the Vaiśyas with the Śūdras in the Gītā and the Dharmaśāstra literature would thus be giving us not a correct idea of the position which the merchant class occupied in a commercial province like Kāṭhiāwār.

TEXT[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीमध्यर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूताम्बिलिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपरस्व-
(स्व)राष्ट्राम-

2 गडलमगडनोपरममुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशयशरश्मिराकाररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोरा-

3 शि:(शि)श्यामचिंतमगर्व्वंगच्चुमामन्तसोमल्लिनीवदनारविन्ददुति: प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वा-
लावली-

4 कल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रताप: स्वहृदयसमोचितहितविभवदानहेलाजलाह्लादितसकल सुहृल्लोक: सम-

5 रसमभरधोरुरोर्ज्जितजितप्रणतवैरिगिरीरश्रृथमाप्स्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखरुचिपा-

6 दपीठप्रान्त: करवान्(ल ह्)वापवर्ज्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्क: परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरन-
ष्टाभि-

7 मुखापतद्विपक्षचतिश्चिन्तामूलप्रणतीक्षरोक्षरपक्षदाक्षशालिश्रीमल्लैन्धववङ्श(वंश)शेखर: समधि-

8 गताशेषमहाशब्दमहामामन्तश्रीमदमुक: [।*] तस्य जननमस्यचरितवन्द्यानिन्द्यद्विजसमूत्त-
मोद्-

9 भारिभारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवलयशोराशिराशिपां परमविसं-

10 वादि स्थानमाख्याननिविष्टेष्टमामन्तचक्रक्रमरक्षादाक्षीदय(द्य)द्यापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्मि: प्राक्षादि-
वधर्म:[3]

11 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसञ्चार: सकललोकपरिगृहितहैतुस्थिरमरस्वतीसङ्गतिसैव्यतया

12 सुचिरमचलितमर्य्यादो नतिजलोपलीपितदुष्टचेष्टित: समुद्रकरमिमुद्रव-

[1] Edited from ink impressions. [2] Indicated by a symbol.

[3] Read either *dīna-jala-hīlā-*, or *samāhlādita* instead of *jal-āhlādita*, as is done in Charters B and D. The reading of Charter E, *dīna-phala-samāhlādita-* is the best.

* *Sandhi* rules have not been always followed in this charter.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

A.—GRANT OF THE TIME OF AGGUKA II; [GUPTA] SAMVAT 513.

i.



ii.



iii.



Second Plate.

13 णेषु च चापघटितरटदटनिनियतगुणसङ्गिमार्गणगणप्रोज्झारितारातिरुग्मोलित-

14 मलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामो रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षुर्व्विषेपो विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्तुतीभवत्त-[1]
स्यापि

15 चापरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्प्पदुत्साहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामो भार-
तमल्ल-

16 चि(ह्न)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्धरधनुर्द्धरो हकोदर इव सततरुधिरपान-
करणास्फुरणीकृत-

17 दुग्ग्राससनीसक्तदुपहसितदुयी(र्यो)धनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वगर्व्वतः समुज्झारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिन-
कर इव वर्द्धमा-

18 नतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिदुःसपक्षयक्षः शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)थसत्योतिदूरविच्छिन्न-
नरकोपद्र-

19 वाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्थतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककारदीकृतप्रातिरा-
ज्यभूभृदुत्करः(र)

20 ऐत्ति क्षपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवीकृतभयस(सं)भ्रान्तनयनैर्न्नयनैपुणसाभ(फ)ल्यप्रकटीभव-
त्पुण्यसम्भारो भा-

21 रतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणारविन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानीतनुतनु-
शोभाभा-

22 वितरुणीजनमनःप्रसरो(रः) श्रीकृष्णराजाभिधानीतिधन्यस्तनयोभूत्तस्य[2] भ्राता वैमात्रो
ज्येष्ठं तत्सुतमुचितकु-

23 लक्रमागताक्रान्तसिङ्हा(सिंहा)सनमपि परित्यज्य श्रीमदग्गुकाख्यं ख्यातपौरुषपुरुषजयिस-
त्वधामवत्तस्थलीलीलाला-

24 लसया कमलया निश्शङ्कमालिङ्गितो[3] अयमेव निजपिढप्रवर्द्धितमदीयलालनपालनयोग्य
इति समरगत-

25 शातितशत्रुशीर्षो धैर्यनिधिरधीराणां रणेषु रचिता चतकलिकलङ्कोल्लचिमदानाभ्यासा-
भ्यर्णीकृतकर्णावर्ण्ण-

[1] Read -bhavat | *Tasy=âpi.*
[2] Read=âbhût | *Tasya.*
[3] Read *niśśaṅkam=âliṅgitô='yam=êva.*

26 नः स्ववपुषि पूषेव विकसितपद्माकरः सक्रियाप्रवर्त्तितसकललोकश्च कथनापरोप्येतत्स-
मोस्ति नास्तीति कौ-

27 तूहलिन्या यत्कीर्त्या जगद्व्याप्यते स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईक-

Third Plate.

28 स्तर्व्वनिवात्मीयान्वयि(न्वि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमाढबलाधिकृतोप-

29 रिकविषयपतिशौल्किकदुस्साधसाधनिकचीरोद्धरणिकवैद्येपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषा(षां)-

30 न्स्त(स्ता)विवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्वयिश्चतुरकुटुम्बिनश्चमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वभुज्यमानपञ्चचौप्रावें(दे)-

31 गिकटङ्कतीर्थाभिधानग्रामस्य(स्त्र)सीमापर्य्यन्तो गुलमिकाभिधानग्रामस्य दशाग्नेय(शाग्नेय)न
सहित[:*] सीमेश्वरवास्तव्यचातु-

32 र्व्वेद्यसामान्यसांकृत्यसगोत्रवह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणचतुर्व्वेदमाधवाय कल्याणपुत्रायोदकातिसर्ग्गेण
ह्यादश्चा-

33 मुदगयने दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मक्रयो[1]ल्पर्णार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिवृद्धये [।*] अतो-

34 स्यैनं भुञ्जतो न केनचित्परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्य(द्वंश्य)-
जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवा-

35 ञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिश्चितजललवलोलमाकलय्य
दु[2]परिहरम्ब(म्बं)-

36 म्य(श)क्षणिकञ्च जीवितमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसङ्किदीपशिखाचञ्चलमा-
लोच्य वाच्यताच्चु-

37 तिकामैरमलमच्छलशरदिन्दुद्युतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनो-
भिरात्मच्छ-

38 न्दतोयमयम[3]स्मदीयोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [।*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाक-
जनिताश्च यामीर्यातना म-

39 नसि निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणाच्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो
भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रम्र-

[1] Read either *kriyó* or *kriyá*.
[2] The letters *yasa* are repeated through inadvertence.

40 र्त्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

41 यो हरेत्तु वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बि(ल्वि)षः(षम्) [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥

42 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन[:।*] कृष्णाहि-

43 यो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारका[:*] ॥ स्वहस्तोयं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईकस्य श्रीराणकपुत्रस्य [।*] दूतकोत्र महत्तमबालकविः [।*]

44 श्रीजार्द(ई)[1]कैमलयश[:*]प्रसराप्तविश्वे र्व्वि(वि)ख्यासितामगुरुबन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [।*] भुंज(भुञ्ज)त्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विकटाक्ष कपिलस्त्रिलकः यकानां(नाम्) ॥

45 श्रीजयसेनो मह्यं याममदाङ्कतीर्थनामानं(नम्) [।*] गुल्लमयिकायामदशान्श(शांश)सहितमतिभक्तिरुदगयने ॥ संव ५०० १० ३

B.—Grant of king Jāika I.

This grant has been written on a set of **two copper-plates**, which have been inscribed on one side only. The plates have two holes near the edge, intended for the two rings to secure them together. Only one of these rings has been preserved and its ends have been soldered together and impressed with a **seal** with the emblem of the fish, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 348½ *tolas*. The size of each plate is 13½"×10".

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. The engraving has been nicely done and the duct of the handwriting is graceful. The **characters** and **language** of this charter are similar to those of Charter A. The record is in prose with the exception of the imprecatory stanzas, and the concluding verse, which is identical with the penultimate verse of Charter A. The **composer** of this record is the same **Śaka Sanskrit poet Kapila**, who had drafted Charter A.

As far as **orthography** is concerned, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of *upadhmānīya* in ll. 30 and 35 in the expressions *duḥparihara*[2] and *hantuḥ prāpnōti* respectively.

The charter records a village-grant made by **Mahāsāmanta Jāika I**, son of king **Rāṇaka**. He is identical with the same person who had issued Charter A as regent for his nephew, Agguka I, who was then the *de jure* king. In the genealogy of this grant, however, there is no reference to Agguka or his father who was the elder brother of Jāika I, both of whom were expressly mentioned as the occupants of the Saindhava throne in Charter A. The reason is not

[1] The shortening of ī is required for metrical reasons; the correct spelling is Jāika.

[2] [The same occurs also in Charter A, l. 35. The form should, however, be *duḥparihara*.—Ed.

far to seek. We have already seen how Jāika I had almost become a *de jure* king in Gupta Saṁvat 513, when Charter A was issued. By the time of the issue of the present charter, the usurpation was complete, and Jāika must have issued instructions to his secretariate that the names of his elder brother and his son should be eliminated from future copper-plate genealogies in order to remove all traces of his usurpation from the ken of the posterity.

The present charter is not dated, but for reasons already explained above in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194), its time of issue will probably be as early as 515 G. E. (834-5 A. D.)

The grantee is a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, **Bhaṭṭasvāmika** by name, who was a son of **Kulachandra**. The revenues of the village of **Dadhipadraka** were assigned to him in order to enable him to perform the usual scriptural sacrifices without feeling any anxiety for his livelihood.

The village **Dadhipadraka** was situated in the district of **Pachhchatrī**, which is the same as **Pāchhtardī**, 6 miles west of Ghumli, as shown already. The boundaries of Dadhipadraka have been given and they enable us to state that the village has either disappeared or changed its name to **Deolia**, which is now a village 13 miles north-east of Ghumli. For to the east and north of this village are the river **Varatu** and the village **Shedkāi** respectively which are obviously identical with the river **Varatrōyī** and the village **Sēḍhākhāikā**, which also were to the east and north of the village Dadhipadraka, which was granted to the donee. **Bhillamāla**, which was the original place of residence of the donee is to be identified with modern **Bhinmal**, which is 80 miles to the north of Patan and 40 miles to the east of Mt. Abu.

The occasion of the gift was the performance of the *Pushyasnāna* ceremony by the king. From the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira we learn that this ritual was recommended to kings by astrologers of old for the purpose of averting disaster and promoting prosperity, both of themselves and of their kingdom[1]. A number of deities were invited at the bath, which was given usually at a holy place. The water was mixed with numerous medicinal and auspicious drugs. Any day of the month, when the moon was in the lunar mansion of Pushya, could be selected for the purpose; but the most suitable time was the full-moon day of the month of Pausha. It is most probable that Jāika II utilised the first Pausha month after his usurpation for this purpose in order to avert the possible visitation of divine wrath at his unjustifiable conduct.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[3] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसभ्यवर्द्धिष्वर्द्धिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोप-
रसराष्ट्रामण्डलम-

2 ण्डनोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशप्रचण्डरश्मिप्रतापविशदनिजयशोराशिः(शि)श्याम-

[1] नास्ति लोके स तत्पाती यो स्नानेन न ग्राम्यते । मंगलं चापरं नास्ति तदस्मादतिरिच्यते ॥
चक्रिराज्यार्थिनो राज्ञः पुत्रजन्म च कांक्षतः । तत्पुंसमभिषेके च विधिरेष प्रशस्यते ॥
Chap. 48, 84—5.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

3 लितसगर्व्वशत्रुसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पा-
नल्पप्रसर-

4 तापः स्वहृदयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः समररसभरधरोद्-
रोर्ज्जितजित-

5 प्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नघृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः कारवाले(ल ह)वापवर्ज्जि-
तमहजकल-

6 ङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्वदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्रिपक्षक्षतिच्छिन्नमूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्र-
हृद्धा-

7 यशालिश्रीमल्लैन्धववङ्ग(वंग्र)शेखरः स समधिगतायेयमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदग्गुकः [।*]
तस्य जननमस्यचरितवंद्या-

8 निन्द्यद्विजसमूहमोक्षहारिहारिद्वत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवलयशोराशिराशिषां
पर-

9 मविसंवादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरजादाच्छोदय(द्य)द्यापिकीर्त्त्यमानकीर्त्तिः
साक्षादिव धर्म्मः(र्म्मो)

10 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिग्रहहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
सुचिरमच-

11 लितमर्य्यादो नतिजलोपिलोपितदुष्टचेष्टितः समुद्रकरणिमुद्दहत्रणेषु च चापघटितरटद्दृढनि-
नियत-

12 गुणसङ्क्रिमार्ग्गणगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलितमलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामो रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षु-
र्व्विक्षेपो

13 विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्तुतीभवत्तस्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्प्पदुत्साहसभरो[2]
भरत ह-

14 वाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामो भारतमल्लक्षि(ह)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिर्दुर्द्ध-
रधनुर्द्धरो हको-

15 दर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुश्शासनोसङ्गदुपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वगर्व्वतः
समुत्सारित-

[1] The usual punctuation mark at the end of the sentence is omitted here.
[2] Read -utsāha-bharō.

16 रिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिदूरसमपक्षयक्षः शार्ङ्गधन्वेव प्रियमल्ली-

17 तिदूरविक्षिप्तनरकोपद्रवाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोदितसत्कृजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदोर्द्द-

18 तप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्कर:(रः) ऐक्षि क्षपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवीकृतभयसंभ्रान्तनयनैर्न्नयनैर्न्निपुण-

Second Plate.

19 माफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसम्भारो भारतीमाधुर्य्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणार-

20 विन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनुशोभाभावितत्तरुणीजनमनःप्रसरस्मस(म)धिगताशेषमङ्गा-ल्यः

21 मन्त्रामात्यसेनापतिकरिवाजीयान्धि(न्धि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमाद-वला-

22 धिकृतोपरिकविषयपतिशौल्किकदुर्ग्गाधिसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैचेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपु-रुषा(षां)-

23 न्स्त(स्त)त्रिवामित्रात्रेयगोत्रऋग्वेदिब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नस्समनुशोधयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपञ्च-

24 त्रीग्रावे(दे)गिकपूर्व्वप्रसिद्धदधिपद्राभिधानग्रामस्य(स्व)सीमापर्य्यन्तस्साघाटश्च तत्र चाघाट-नानि । यत्र पूर्व्वतो वर-

25 त्रीयो नदी दक्षिणतश्चीक्काणकाभिधानो भट्टग्रामः पश्चिमतस्त्रीखण्डूरकग्राम उत्तरतोपि खाडक्काणकग्रामः

26 मेटाग्रहारका चया(चाग्र)हार[: ।*] एवं समस्साघाटपरिच्छिन्नः श्रीमल्लमालवास्तव्यतत्रा-तुर्व्वेद्यसामान्यब्रह्म-

27 मर्षीवच्छान्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टस्वामिकाय कुलचन्द्रपुत्रायोदकातिसर्गेण पुण्यस्यानविधौ

28 दत्तो धनिचरदेवखटेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मकुयो[र]स्यर्थेनार्थे मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [।*] अतोस्मे(स्मै)नं भुञ्जतो न के-

* Usual Other Kings or Kings'.

Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli:

B.—Grant of King Jaika II.

i.



ii.



29 नचित्परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्य(ङ्ग)जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याणि मा-

30 नुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दु><परिहरभ्रंश्य(ङ्ग)-च्चिकाञ्च जीवितमालोक्या-

31 तिप्रचुरकदर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसङ्दीपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरमल-मण्डलशरदिंदुद्यु-

32 तिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनोभिरात्मच्छन्दतोयमयम्[1]स्वधर्म्म-दायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [।*] व्यासादि-

33 मुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताय यामीर्यातना मनसि निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिक-नृपपरिकल्पितपद्धमहापा-

34 तकसमयश्रावणाच्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रस्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोप-दिष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।

35 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वसुन्धरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु><प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ स्वहस्तो-

36 यं समधिगताग्नेयमहाग्रन्थमहासामन्तश्रीजाईकस्य [।*] तदादिष्टदूतकोत्र प्रतिहारकृष्णः [।*] श्रीजाई(ह)कैर्मलयग्रःप्रसरात्-

37 विश्वे र्व्वि(वि)श्वासिताप्तगुरुबन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [।*] भुंजत्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विकटात्स कपिलस्थिलकः शकानां(नाम्) ॥

C.—An incomplete grant of King Rāṇaka.

This charter was **originally engraved on two plates**, but only the first of them has been recovered. It is much bigger in size than the other plates of this find, being $16\frac{3}{8}'' \times 12\frac{1}{16}''$ in dimensions. Its weight is 317½ *tolas*, which is almost equal to the combined weight of the three plates of Charter A. There are two holes at the bottom intended for the two rings for holding the plates together. The second plate as well as the two rings are untraceable.

There are 22 lines engraved on this plate. The engraving on no other plates of this set is so shabby, slipshod and careless as that on this plate. Every line teems with mistakes and consideration of space renders their enumeration impossible here. They can be seen in the text and the appended footnotes. Apart from mistakes of engraving, there are mistakes of pronunciation

[1] Letters *yama* have been wrongly repeated.

[2] The shortening of *i* is required for metrical purpose. The *rea* spelling is *Jāīka*.

like *shyāmalita* for *śyāmalita* in l. 2, *sunā* for *sūna* in l. 11, *jasō* for *yaśō* in l. 1, *ganō* for *janō* in l. 7, etc. Then there are mistakes of grammar, too, like *samabhavaḥ* for *samabhavat* in ll. 10-11. The draftsman also has made his own humble contribution to the prevailing chaos by framing a sentence at the end of the plate (ll. 18-22), the syntax of which is very defective.

The form of some characters of this record is considerably different from that of the Charters A and B. *Ma* and *sa* are quite indistinguishable ; cf. *sīmantinī* in l. 2. The forms of the characters *ga* and *sa* are also somewhat different from those in Charters A and B. There are two forms of *ha* ; both of them can be seen in the word *mahāmahindhra* in l. 14.

The record contains a grant of *Mahāsāmanta* **Rāṇaka**, who was a son of king **Agguka** and a grandson of king **Kṛishṇarāja**. In his *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has advanced the view that Rāṇaka, the grantor of this plate, should be identified with Rāṇaka, the father of Jūika I, who according to the genealogy given in Charter F, was a son of Agguka and grandson of Kṛishṇarāja. He therefore regards this charter as the earliest of the present set. It is also possible to argue that the unusually large size of the copper-plate might probably indicate that it belongs to an earlier period, when the size of the copper-plates of its charters was not yet standardised by the secretariate of the dynasty. This argument is of course not very strong.

In view of the genealogical data of Charter F, the above view undoubtedly appears as the most plausible one, but there are serious difficulties in accepting it. A comparison of the text of the present charter with that of Charters A and B makes it clear that it presupposes the knowledge of the latter and is based upon them. Thus the expression *hēl-āhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* in l. 3 of the present charter gives no meaning whatsoever ; it is an unintelligent abbreviation of *sva-hṛidaya-samīkṣita-hita-vibhava-dāna hēlā-samāhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* of Charters A and B, l. 4 ; similarly *karavāla iva parivāra-nirapēkshaḥ* in l. 5 of this charter presupposes a knowledge of *karavāla iv-āpavarjita-sakaja-kalaṅka-śaṅkaḥ parivāra-rakṣh-ānapēkshita-spashṭa-dṛishṭa-śaktiḥ* of Charter A, l. 6 and Charter B, ll. 5 and 6. The present charter is thus later than Charters A and B, and cannot be therefore attributed to Rāṇaka, the father of the donor of Charter B, though the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Kṛishṇarāja respectively.

It is no doubt possible to rebut the force of the above argument by contending that the present charter does not presuppose a knowledge of Charters A and B, but that all of them are based upon a still earlier grant, which served as the prototype for all the three charters. This contention is however purely hypothetical and will continue to remain so, till an earlier grant is actually discovered and shown to be the prototype of the drafts of the three charters.

There is another and a more serious objection to M. M. Shastri's view. If we accept it, the approximate time of king Rāṇaka, the donor, would be 794-814 A.D.[1]. Now the concluding five lines of the record would show that queen Kshēmēśvarī was his wife. This Kshēmēśvarī was very probably either a daughter or a sister[2] of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja or Kshēmēśvara, the son of Yōgarāja, who is traditionally known to have ruled from 841 to 880 A.D.[3] It is not very likely that a daughter or a sister of a king, who was ruling from c. 841 to 880 A.D., could have been married to another whose reign period is known to be c. 794 to 814 A.D. Kshēmēśvara was no

[1] *Ante*, p. 196. See the genealogical table.

[2] Kings Harshagupta and Mahāsēnagupta of the later Gupta dynasty had sisters named Harshaguptā and Mahāsēnaguptā respectively.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 14 (Singhi Jain Granthamala ed.).

doubt a man of about 40 at the time of his accession, but even this circumstance does not render the marriage of a daughter or a sister of his with Rāṇaka possible.

If Rāṇaka, the donor of our charter is not the same as Rāṇaka, the father of Jāīka I, as suggested by the genealogy in Charter F, with whom then are we to identify him? The answer to this question is supplied by the data in Charter A. That charter was issued by Jāīka as regent, when Agguka, the son of his half-brother Kṛishṇarāja, was ruling as a minor. Rāṇaka, the grantor of our plate, was a son of this Agguka. It would be seen that the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Rāṇaka respectively, as was the case with the grantor of our plate. A glance at the genealogical and chronological table given on p. 196 shows that the approximate time of the rule of this Rāṇaka was A.D. 859 to 879. It was thus possible for him to marry Kshēmēśvarī who was presumably a daughter of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja, since the latter is known to have ruled from *c.* 841 to 880 A.D.

As against the view here proposed, it is possible to argue that it requires us to suppose that the Saindhava kingdom, which was already very small, was divided into as many as three branches during the latter part of the 9th century A.D. Known facts about divisions and sub-divisions of kingdoms in India would show that there was nothing very unusual in it. The testimony of Charter F would further show that our hypothesis is almost inevitable; for ll. 5 and 6 of that charter show that during the latter half of the 9th century the Saindhava family-tree had a number of branches (*śākhā-saṁchaya*). We should not therefore be surprised if the data available at present showed that there were three branches ruling simultaneously at that time.

It is interesting to note that the claim to the overlordship of western Saurāshṭra has not been advanced in this charter on behalf of the grantor, as has been done in the remaining charters of this set. This was probably due to the fact that after the usurpation of Jāīka I, the branch of Kṛishṇarāja, though representing the senior line, was reduced to a humble status and did not wield much power and influence. To judge from the present charter, it would appear that it could not command the services of good poets and engravers also. The literary scholars of the day seem to have preferred the patronage of Jāīka and his descendants, who had become the leading members of the Saindhava family.

The present charter is not dated, but since the grantor was a son of Agguka II, who was a minor in 513 G. E., we may presume that it may have been issued in *c.* 550 G. E. If the grant was in memory of a departed queen of the donor, as seems to be the case, then its date may probably be about a decade later. The present charter was thus very probably granted in the same decade in which Charter D, dated 555 G. E., was issued.

The charter records the donation of the village **Bhēṭālikā** situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**. The name of the donee does not occur in the first plate, which alone has been so far recovered. The concluding four lines of the first plate contain a part of the record, which described its object. Besides being incomplete, this portion is rather obscure, and so we cannot get a definite idea on the subject. If the emendations suggested by me in the text are correct, the record would seem to sanction a grant for the purpose of erecting a temple in memory of queen Kshēmēśvarī, who appears to have married the donor in a *svayaṁvara*. Or, it may be that the grant was made at the request of queen Kshēmēśvarī; this alternative, however, appears to me as less probable.

As observed already, Kshēmēśvarī was very probably a daughter of king Kshēmarāja of the Chāpa dynasty, who was a western neighbour of king Rāṇaka and ruling almost contemporaneously with him. M. M. Shastri has advanced a curious suggestion in this connection; he thinks that Kshēmēśvarī may have been a queen of Chāpa king Kshēmēśvara of Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa, living

at Ghumli in separation from him.[1] There is nothing in the record to bear out this suggestion. The concluding sentence is no doubt difficult to construe; but it is almost certain that the word *ōtarājāyāḥ* in l. 18 has to be construed with *rājñī-Kshēmēśvarīyāḥ* in l. 22; Kshēmēśvarī was thus a queen of the donor. L. 19 describes her as superior to thousands of women in her character. She therefore was not likely to be a lady living in a kind of judicial separation from her husband; such women were held in contempt by Hindu society. In ll. 21-22, the donor is referring to her constancy to the marriage vow taken in the presence of the sacred fire. She must therefore have been his own wife, and not the wife of a contemporary of his living in separation at his capital.

The village granted was Bhēṭālikā, situated in the district of Pachchhatrī. As its boundaries are not given, it is difficult to identify it with certainty. M. M. Shastri has suggested that it should be identified with **Vaḍāla**, which is now a railway station on the Junagad State Railway, about 7 miles north of Junagad.[2] There is, however, another village named **Bhāṭēla**, about 24 miles north-north-east of modern Pāchhtardī, whose name has a greater phonetic resemblance to that of Bhēṭālikā. It is more probable that this may have been the village granted.

TEXT.[3]

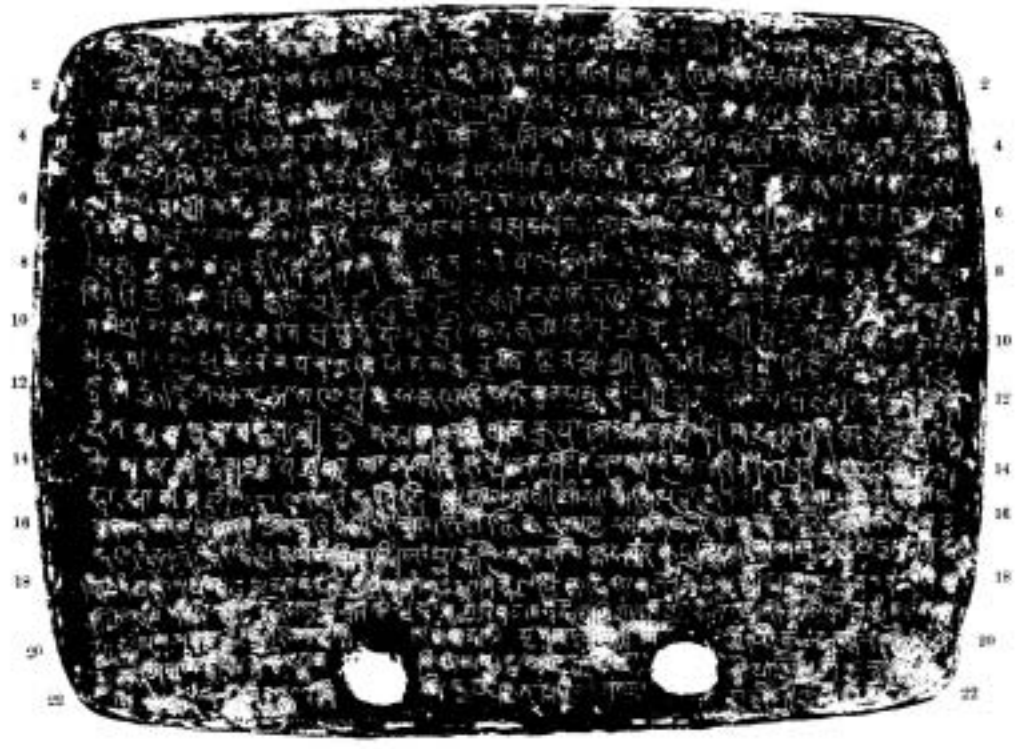
First Plate.

1 ॐ[4] स्वस्ति [।*] भूताम्बि(म्बि)लिकातः [।*] आशौ(सौ)क्षंपूर्ण्णप्रकाशशरनि(न्नि)शा-
करश्मीं(श्मि)प्रतानविष(श)दनिषजसो(निजयशो)-
2 शाश्चिथा(श्या)मलितसमस्तशत्रुसामंतसीमंतिनीवदखा[5]रविन्दु(न्द)द्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृंभितज्व-
3 लनज्वालावलीकल्पप्रु(प्र)तापप्रसर(रो) हेलाक्षादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः प्रणमदु(दू)र्जितानेकसर-
4 मनिर्यितमहाभियनराजंन्यो[6]ज्झितदीर्घोष्णनिश्वासपवनस्पर्षं(र्शं)निर्म्मलतरीभवन(ब)खदर्पण-
5 च्छायाः(यः) पृथिव्यामाश्रयो(र्यं)भूत[:*] करवालैव[7] परिवारनिरपेक्षः[8] केवल एव
निर्व्वु(र्व्यू)ढानेकसमरभारसः
6 महोत्सवः श्रीमत्सैन्यवर्यंशप्रसूतः समधिगताशेषमह(हा)सामंतश्रीक्षखराजः [।*] तस्य प्र-
7 थितानेकगुणगणसमाह्लादितसज्जनजनमन[:*]प्रसर[:*] केवलं जननिजभुजवीर्योपार्जितप्रणति-
यनो-[9]
8 प्रभुज्यमानलक्ष्मीं(क्ष्मी)विभवतो(स्तो)च्छोत्खातकरवालनिशितद्वा(धा)राविस्फुरत्किरणनिवहदूरो-
ह्ला-

[1] M. M. Shastri, *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 9.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 14.
[3] Edited from ink-impression.
[4] Indicated by a symbol.
[5] The letter looks like *khā*; read *vadvā*.
[6] Read *-sāmanta-nirjita-mahābhijana-rājany-ō°*.
[7] Read *karavāla iva*.
[8] The letter *ra* in this word is superfluous, read *nirapēkshaḥ*.
[9] Read *prasayi-jana-*.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

C.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF KING RANAKA.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Rec. No. 2096 E 41. 390.

SCALE : TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो बहुद्वा(धा) दुर्व्वारवैरिकरिक(कं)ठनिर्दलितनिपतनंदैमल[1]मुक्ताफलचर्चि[2]-

10 तसंग्रामभूमि[3] अनवरतप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रोंक्षितकरो दिग्ज[4] द्वात्मजः श्रीमदगुकाभिधानः स-

11 मभवः(वत्) [।*] तस्य [5]सुनूरनवरतनिपतन[5]च्छरण्या(सी)त्कारसू(शू)न्यीकृतरिपुद्वारापिट्ठो[6] अना-रतप्र-

12 ज्वलदूर्জ্জितप्रतापानलप्लुष्टसकलद्विषदिभ्वनसमूच्[:*] परिभ्रमःनि(मत्रि)र्म्मलज(य)शः प्रत्यय-दंसि-

13 दंतस्व(स)दावदातद(ध)वलीकृतसकलदिक्कु(क्क)चक्रवालः संकल्पोचितफलनिकरच्छायोपे-

14 तो महामहिन्द्र[7] इव प्रकामान(ने)कद्विजसमाश्रयो नाम्ना:(म्ना) समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दम-

15 हासामंतश्रीराणकः भू(सु)विदित[:*] सर्व्वान(ने)वाप्तीयां(यान्) स्वान्वचि(न्वि)प(पु)री-क्षितामात्यसेनापतियुवराज-

16 राजस्थानीयबलाधिकृतोपरिकविग(ष)यपतिशौल्किकदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैद्येपिकभट-(ट)चार-

17 भटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषांश्च[8] निवासिनः ब्राह्मणोत्त(त्त)रा[न्*] वणिक्प्र(ब्र)हत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः समनुबोध(ध)यत्यस्तु व[:*] सं-

18 विदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छवीविषयां(या)न्तःपा(पा)तिभेटालिकाभिधानग्रामः(म) आत्मीयाया[:*] प्रचुरतरविस-

19 त्गुणगणविजितान्यस्त्रीसहस्र(स्रं) चरितां(तं) स्वभावचरित[9]मानसेन विचार्याभिचार्य तीर्थ(र्थे) कौलपुत्रं(त्त्र)माकल-

20 य्य स(सं)यममवद्वा(धा)र्य्यैजनपूतौ(प्रीति)जननमतौ[10]हृत्तमालोच्य [11]शौचं विलोक्य सकल-लोकप्र(प्र)-

[1] Read *-nipatad-amala-*.
[2] Read *-bhāmir=anacarata-*.
[3] Read *dig-gaja*.
[4] Read *sānu°*.
[5] The letter na in this word is superfluous; read *-nipatach-chhara°*.
[6] Read *-dhārāpiṭhō=nārata*.
[7] Read *mahā-mahīdhra*.
[8] Read *purushānsa-tan-niyuktāṁś*.
[9] The word *charita* is used in the sense of *tushṭa*.
[10] Read *-jnanan sati-*.
[11] This reading is rather doubtful. The letter preceding *chan* has a faint resemblance to a defective *śas*.

21 त्यचा[1]निष्ठतां(ता) ड(ध)म्निष्ठतां(ता) स्थाननियमस्य प्रसाद[:*] प्रासादारोपणस्येति[2]
कृत्वाग्निसा-

22 चिकाचौणप्रीतिरक्षणनिमित्तव्ययय[3] कृतपरिण[य*]नाया राज्ञीत्रीचिमेखर्या

D.—Grant of Rāṇaka of a subordinate Saindhava branch, G. S. 555.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates**, each of which is $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$ in size. Near the edge of the plates there are two holes intended for the rings to secure the plates together. Only one ring has been preserved. Its ends are however not embossed with any seal. The fish emblem of the dynasty appears at the end of the inscription on the second plate. This method of putting the seal of the dynasty immediately at the end of the inscription is followed in the remaining charters of this series, as also in some other plates issued by its later members. In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record.

The weight of the plates together with the ring is 331 *tolas*. 24 lines are engraved on the first plate and 22 on the second. Though the duct of the handwriting of the present charter is graceful, its engraving has been done very carelessly. As a consequence it teems with mistakes, though they are not so numerous as those in Charter C. The left side of the first plate has not been properly dressed. The engraving instrument has slipped from the engraver's hands in several places. In l. 36 however the engraver has corrected a mistake and inserted the letter *mā* (*ma*), which was accidentally omitted, just below the line near its proper place.

The observations made about the **language** and **characters** of Charter A hold good about this record also. Only a few additional remarks are necessary. The form of *na* of this record is of the normal type and differs from that in Charter B, where it can be hardly distinguished from that of *ma*. The distinction between the forms of the letters *s* and *ś* is real, though rather subtle. The form of the letter *rtha* in *sārtha* in l. 7 is noteworthy. The mark for an *avagraha* appears in a few places, *e.g.*, *garigō-'para* in l. 1, *Duśśāsanō-'sakṛid* in l. 9, etc., but it is omitted in most cases. The mistakes of *sandhi* are quite numerous in the record. The punctuation is very defective, the punctuation mark being unnecessarily inserted in several places; see ll. 11, 12, 16, 20, 31, 37, 38, etc.

The charter is partly in prose and partly in verse. The metrical portion consists as usual of the imprecatory verses occurring at the end, and of two verses coming thereafter giving the date of the record and the name of the composer. In ll. 30-1, there are two more verses in the *Āryā* metre,[4] which give the names of the donees. These verses are not easy to detect, because some of the adjectives qualifying a noun in the first of them occur in the earlier prose portion. The **composer** of the record is **Vakula**, son of **Viṭṭhaka**.

[1] Read *pratyakṣa-niṣṭhatā*.

[2] It is difficult to construe this sentence satisfactorily; I would tentatively suggest the following construction :—स्थाननियमस्य प्रसादः सकललोकप्रत्यक्षनिष्ठता धर्म्मिष्ठता इति कृत्वा

[3] Read *-nirmitāyā*.

[4] My attention was drawn to these verses by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The grantor of the present charter is **Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Rāṇaka**, who was a grandson of king **Jāika I** of Charters A and B through his son **Agguka**. Ll. 21-24 of the record inform us that Agguka, the father of the donor, eventually subdued the desire for pleasures, which he had long enjoyed, and decided to crown his son himself, noticing how Lakshmī, the goddess of Royal Fortune, had become eager to be united with his son Rāṇaka, who had become quite capable of bearing the burden of administration. The coronation of the son took place in the lifetime and under the supervision of the father. How Agguka, the father of Rāṇaka, was probably not the eldest son of his father Jāika I, and how his abdication in favour of his son was probably due, less to *vairāgya* and more to an apprehension that his elder brother Chāmuṇḍarāja may resume his principality after his death, has been already shown in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194).

The **date** of the present charter is given in words in l. 44; we are told that **it was issued when five hundred and fifty-five years of the Gaupta-samaya had elapsed**. As the name and day of the month are not given, the precise date cannot be ascertained. We can only say that it was issued sometime in A.D. 874-5.

The village granted by the charter was **Pippalapadra**, situated in the district of **Suvarṇa-mañjarī**. Half of its revenues were assigned to a group of temples dedicated to **Hari, Hari-daśva** (the sun), **Vināyaka** and the **Divine Mothers**, which were erected on the outskirts of the city by **Śivarudra**, who was a *karpaṭin*, i.e., an ascetic dressed in rags. The donee of the other half of the village is curiously enough not specified; we are told that it was assigned to *kasmaichin=maṭha-patayē*, to **a certain head of a maṭha**. This *maṭha-pati* was probably not the chief priest in charge of the temple, where these deities were installed; for then the wording should have been *ētan=maṭha-patayē*.[1] L. 32 also refers to the separate enjoyment of the property by the group of the temples and the chief of the *maṭha*. The chief of the *maṭha* was also to utilise the property for the upkeep of the temple and its worship; he was therefore associated probably with another temple. Like numerous temples and *maṭhas* of the medieval period in South India, this *maṭha* may also have been a religious and educational establishment; our record, however, has nothing to say on the point.

Of the **places** mentioned in this grant, **Pippalapadra**, the village granted, must have been one of the numerous villages in western Kāthiāwār which bears at present the name of **Piplia**. It is not possible definitely to identify **Suvarṇamañjarī** the headquarters of the district in which this village was situated. It may be one of the villages bearing the name **Sonpur**, which exists at present in northern Kāthiāwār. Or, it may be the village **Sōnwāriā**, which is 12 miles north-east of Ghumli. The latter identification looks phonetically more probable, but there is one circumstance going against it. The village Dadhipadraka, given in Charter B, was so close to Sōnwāriā, that one would expect it to be located in Suvarṇamañjarī district, and not in Pachchhatrī district as that charter states. I am unable to identify **Dēṇḍanībhaṭṭa** village, to which the first donee belonged.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[3] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसंभवर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूतांविलिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपरसु-
राष्ट्रामण्डलमण्ड-

[1] An alternative reading *ētan-maṭh-ādhipatayē* would have suited the exigencies of the metre as well.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्पूर्णप्रकाशशरद्विशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिया(जा)यशोराशिः(शि)श्या-
मलितसगर्ब्भग-

3 च्छसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्र-
तापः स्वच्छ-

4 दयसमीक्षितक्षितविभवदानक्षेलासमाक्षादितसकलसुच्छत्रोकः समररसभरधरोद्धुरोर्ज्जितजितप्रण-
तवैरिशिरो-

5 रा(र)त्नदृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवाल इवापवर्जितसच्छत्रकलङ्क-
शङ्कः प-

6 रिवाररत्नानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपक्षचतुश्चित्तिविक्षामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रदत्तायशा-
स्तिश्रो-

7 मल्लैश्चवर्यशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्द्दकः [1*] सुतीभवत्तस्यापि
चापरिपुसार्थकदर्थ-

8 नासमर्थः प्रोत्सर्पदुत्साहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितचरितसमाराधितरामो भारतमञ्जस्तृ(तृ)-
तीयः(य)पार्थ इवापार्थकोक्ष-

9 तजगदुदितकीर्त्ति(र्त्ति)दुर्द्दैवधनुर्द्धरो द्रकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणोक्षतदुःशास-
नोऽसक्रदपसद्दि(र्द्धि)तदुर्योधन-

10 श्च । सर्व्वतः स्वगर्व्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव प्रवर्द्धमानतेजोरा-
शिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितारि-

11 द्वसमासन्नसपत्नयत्नः शार्ङ्ग(र्ङ्ग)धन्वेव[2] पृ(प्रि)थसत्वोति[दूर*]विचिक्षनरकोपद्रवशङ्कः [3*]
शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो ज-

12 नोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदीक्षितप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्कर: [4*] ऐच्छि क्षपाणपाणिभिरपि रिपु-
भिरभिभवोद्भु(द्भू)तसश्रा-

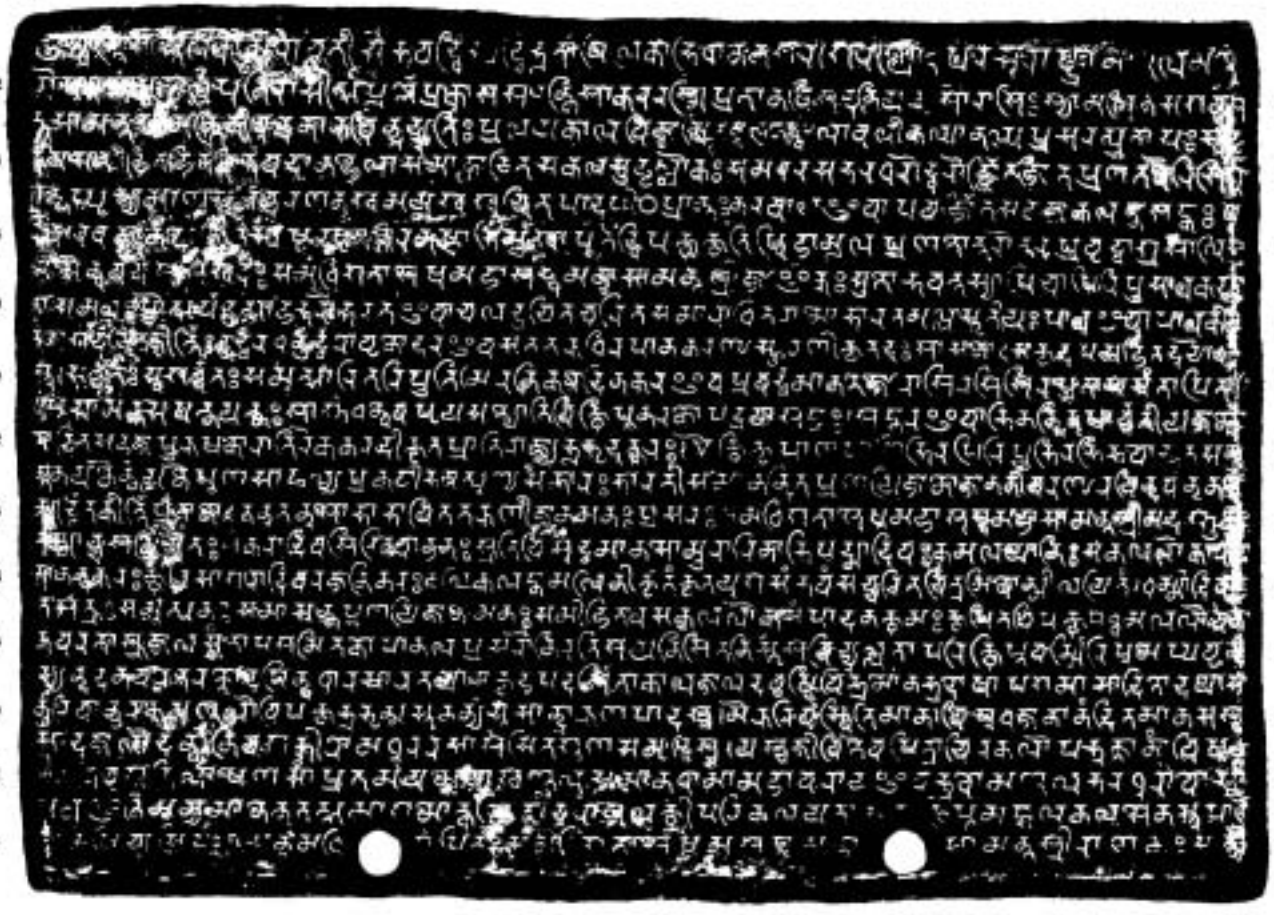
13 न्तनयनैर्व्वयनैपुणसाफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसंभारः(रो) भारतीसमानन्दितप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणा-
रविन्दवन्दनस(सं)-

14 म्ब(ब)र्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोऽतनुतनुगोभाभावितत्रुणीजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहा-
सामन्तश्रीमदग्गुकः [1*]

[1] What looks like a medial ā sign here is due to the slipping of the instrument.
[2] The dhrdh is unnecessary here.

D.—Grant of Ranaka of a subordinate Saindhava branch; G. S. 555.

i.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 2095 E 41, 295.

SCALE : TWO-THIRDS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

11.

15 तस्माच्च शक्तियुतः शंकरादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुतिविशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मादिव(व) कमलयोनिः सकललोकलोच-

16 नानन्दकरः क्षीरसागरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्कमलिनीकृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सच्चरित-चित्तमिवोन्मूलयितुं ।[1] धर्म्मादिशाज्ञा-

17 तशचुः समुत्पनः(न्नः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनो(न)मनःसमीहितार्थसकललोकसंपादनक्षमः क्षपि-(पि)तविपक्षव(व)ध्वमललोचना-

18 नवरताम्बुजलसंताप[2]शमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिश्चितनिस्सं(स्वं)शविद्युत्तापरिक्षिप्तवर्षि-रिपुमेघवृन्द-

19 स्यन्दं[3]नवरतरक्तोदबिन्दुधार(रा)सारतयासक्तदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ्रमोनभ्रदोषापगमा-सादितोदयो भा-

20 नुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तमान्द्रारुणपादश्च ।[4] मेरुरिव स्थितिमान(न्) ।[5] विबुधजनानंदितमानसश्च

21 स्वादुजलोदन्वानिव गभीरो मधुररसाशंसितगुणसमृद्धिश्च । यश्च जोवि(व)तेव पिबा चिरक(का)लोपभुक्तानां विषय(या)-

22 णां निवृत्ताभिलाषेण सांप्रतमयमेवाखण्डलसमानधामा महावराह इव भुवो मण्डल-भरधुरां वोढु(ढुं) स-

23 मर्थं इति मन्यमानेन तत्समागमोत्कण्ठितां च राजलक्ष्मीं(क्ष्मीं) परिकलयता समक्ति-(मुक्ति)भमङ्गलकलशेन स्वपाणि-

24 नाभिषिच्य सिङ्हा(सिंहा)सनमधिरोपितः समधिगताशेषम[हा°]शब्दमहासामन्तश्रीरागवः सर्व्वा-

Second Plate.

25 नेवाल्लीयान्मंचिपुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमाचि(ट)बलाधिकृतोपरिक-

26 विषयपतिशौल्किकदुःसाधसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैचेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्(षां)-

27 त(स्त)द्विवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरा[5]न्क्षणिश्चक्षत्तरकुटुम्बिनः समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानसुवर्ण्ण-

28 मंजरीविषयसंग्रहीतपिप्पलपद्राभिधानग्रामस्यार्द्धममुना देवकुलीभट्टग्रामभुवा भट्टशंखधर-पौत्रेण पू-

[1] The *danda* is unnecessary here.
[2] Read *-samyata.*
[3] The correct form is *syandanâtma.*
[4] The *danda* is unnecessary.
[5] Between the letters *tta* and *ró*, there is space for one letter, where probably a letter was first engraved and then erased.

29 र्षसूनुना वसिष्ठगोत्रेण बह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिणा शिवरुद्राभिधानेन कर्प्पटिना वाङ्गालोपरि-
सरमनु सन्धि[वि*]-

30 शिताभ्यः ।[1]

हरिहरिदश्वविनायकमाढ्यो भक्तिभारमुद्वहता ।
दत्तं करभोगयुतं सहदण्डदशापराधं चा(च) ।[।*१]
अस्यैवा-

31 परमर्हं ग्रामस्य तथै[व*] करभरोपेतं(तम्) ।
कस्मैचिन्मठपतये देवालयपालनारतये ।[।२*]
एवमिमं स[म*]स्तमपि ग्रामं भुंज-

32 ती देवकुलानां मठस्य वाप्युपकनसरस च[2] खण्डस्फुटितादिमांस्राच[3]माचरतो न केन-
चिद्देशाधिपतिना परिपंथ-

33 ना कार्या । भाविभिरपि भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिः-
(द्भि)रनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याणि ।[4]

34 मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्प)रिहरभंगं
चक्रिकञ्च जीवि-

35 तमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचंचलमालोक्य ।[4] वाच्यताच्युति-
कामैरम-

36 लमण्डलसदिन्दुद्युतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमा[5](म)नोभिरात्म-
द्वं(च्छं)दतोयमस्र-

37 ङ्गमादायोतु(त्तु)मन्तव्यः ।[4] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपरिपाकजनिताञ्च यातना मनसि
निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिक-

38 नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं
न प्रमर्त्तव्यं ॥[4] स्व-

39 तिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेना(त्ता)
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

[1] This punctuation mark is intended to separate the preceding prose portion from the following two verses.
[2] Read vâpy-upakanasa-sarasâs cha.
[3] For -mâmsrâchâ°, read -mâmsâdra°.
[4] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.
[5] This letter ma (ma), which was left out, has been later engraved below the line under the letter na.

40 यो हरेत(त्तु) वसुन्धरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हतुः(न्तुः) प्राप्नोति नि(कि)ल्बि(ल्वि)-
षं(षम्) ॥[४*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाह-

41 योभिजायन्ते देवदायापहारकाः ॥[५*] लोहचूर्णाश्मचूर्णं च विषञ्च जरयेन्नरः ।
ब्रह्मस्वं चिषु लोकेषु कः पुमान्भ-

42 क्षयिष्यति ॥[६*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्क[रा*]णि ।
निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा-

43 धुः पुनराददीत ॥[७*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[८*]

44 संवत्सरपंचशतीं सपंचपंचाशतं समधिरुह्य । गोप्ते सर्प्पति समये ग्रामं श्रीराणकः
प्रादात् ॥[९*] स्वहस्ती-

45 यं समधिगताग्नेयमहाग्रग्दमहासामन्तश्रीराण[क*]स्य ॥ श्रीराणके महीभृति विट्टक-
सूनौ च लिपिक-

46 रे वकुले । स्वयमत्र दूतकीभूद्युवराजो जां(जा)ई(इ)[1]कः श्रीमान् ॥[१०*][2]

E.—Grant of king Aggukа III ; Gupta Saṁvat 567.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **two-copper plates**, which were once secured together by means of two rings passing through two holes pierced near the edge. Only one of these rings has been preserved at present. There is no fish seal of the dynasty embossed at the place where its ends have been joined together as is the case with the rings of Charters A and B. We find the **fish emblem** appearing at the end of the charter on the second plate as is the case with Charters D and F.

The size of the first plate is $14\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9\frac{5}{16}''$ and that of the second $14\frac{11}{16}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The weight of both the plates together with the extant ring is $386\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*.

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. Generally speaking the **characters** are similar to those of Charter D, but the form of the letter *śa* is slightly different. It is interesting to add that the characters of this charter show a close resemblance to those of the Unā plates of Avanivarman II,[3] issued 16 years earlier from South Kāthiāwār. The engraver of the charter was a good calligraphist, and his flourishes of medieval *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are graceful. There are however several mistakes in engraving and they become very numerous in the last four or five lines. At two places, however, in ll. 13 and 17, two accidentally omitted letters, *la* and *sa* respectively, have been engraved just below their proper place.

[1] The shortening of *ī* is required for metrical purpose.

[2] There is a circular symbol between two sets of *danḍas* at the end of the line.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IX, plate between pp. 130-131.

With reference to **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the use of the *avagraha*. In some cases like *pri(pri)ya-satyō='tidūra-* ll. 9-10, its use is normal, but in two cases it has been used when a preceding ā has been coalesced with a succeeding a ; cf. *Bhūtāmvilik-ā'bhidhāna-* l. 1 and *sūratay-ā'sakṛid*, l. 16.

The **language** of the charter is ornate Sanskrit. The writer **Jhōjjha**, who was a son of Mādhava, has introduced some new similes and metaphors, which to some extent relieve the monotony which cannot but be felt by a reader of the present series of charters. This same writer has composed Charter F of the present series issued in Gupta Saṁvat 596, and the Morbi plate of Jāika issued in Gupta Saṁvat 585. Jhōjjha obviously seems to have lived to a ripe old age.

The present charter records a village-grant made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Agguka III** of the main Saindhava house, who was a son of king **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and grandson of **Jāika I**. We have already discussed the circumstances, which make it very probable that Agguka III represented the senior of the two lines founded by the two sons of Jāika I (*ante*, pp. 195-196). We may only add here that the title of Agguka III *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is more exalted than that of his cousin Rāṇaka of Charter D, which is merely *Sāmantādhipati*.

The **date** of the present grant is given in words in its penultimate verse, which states that **it was made on a new moon day when five hundred and sixty-seven autumns had elapsed according to the Gupta era.** As the month of the new moon is not given, the precise date of the grant cannot be found ; it must have been issued sometime in A.D. 886-7.

The **donees** of this grant were two brothers, **Rudra** and **Sāgara**, sons of **Guhēśvara**, who were Yajurvēdin Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gōtra* residing at **Gōmūtrikā** situated in the district of **Kāryāyātakachchha.** The grant was given to the donees not for their own individual use, but for being utilised for the purpose of the local Brāhmaṇa assembly, of which they were probably trustees or leading members ; cf. *brahma-saṁsad-upabhōgyatāyai*, l. 25. The precise purpose of the grant is not stated ; it is however probable that the Brāhmaṇas of Gōmūtrikā, which appears to have been a holy place, may have been maintaining some educational institutes or temples or both, and the grant may have been intended to meet the expenses in that connection.

The village granted was **Harishāṇḍāṇaka**, situated in the district of **Svaraṇamaṇjarī.** Its boundaries not being given, it cannot be identified with certainty ; but it is probably the same as the modern village **Harīāsana**, situated in Nawanagar state as has been suggested to me by the Dewansaheb of Porbandar after a careful enquiry. I am unable to identify the village Gōmūtrikā from which the donee hailed or the district of Kāryāyātakachchha, in which it was situated.

In l. 23 of the present charter there are a large number of fiscal terms mentioned in connection with the revenues of the village granted, the purport of which is difficult to make out. It would appear that some of them like *vaḍaṅkī* and *chāṅgūlā* are Sanskritised forms of Prākrit words. They are not to be met with either in Sanskrit or Prākrit dictionaries. *Bhāga-bhōga-kara* and *da āparādha-daṇḍa* are usual expressions in land grants and require no comment. *Dāṇi* in old Gujarātī denoted a customs officer ; so *sarvva-pūt-āḍhyāyāṇi-dāṇyu* would probably denote octroi duties on articles imported. *Pōtra* means a boat, and so *pōtrā* may denote the tax on articles imported in boats. *Mārgaka* might denote some levy realised from persons who had got back their lost articles, or it may be a levy on goods collected on the roadside (before they entered a city), as suggested to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्थ(स्थि)सकालकासम्भवर्द्धस्वर्द्धिभूताम्बि(म्बि)लिका[3]ऽभिधाननगरोगरो-
यीपरसुराष्ट्रामण्डलमण्ड-

2 नीपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्यामलितसगर्व्वसामन्तसी-
मन्तिनीवद-

3 नारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वच्छदयसमो-
ल्लिखितचित्तविभवदान-

4 फलसमाल्हा(ह्ला)दितबन्धुजनः समररसभरोद्धुरोर्ज्जितजितप्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नघृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरण-
नखमयूखख-

5 चितपादपीठप्रान्त(न्तः) करवाल इवापर्य्यन्तसङ्गतकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्ष्या(क्षा)-
तिस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरपरिमितस्निग्ध-

6 तरपक्षग्राक्षासक्षयग्लानिचोमत्सैन्यवर्व्वशगेश्वरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्री-
जार्इकः [।*] सुतोभव-

7 त्तस्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोल्लस्यदुत्साहभरो भारतमल्ल:(ल्ल)ट(स्त)तीयः(य)पार्थ
इवाशावलीक्षतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिर्दुर्द-

8 धनुर्द्धरो द्वकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानास्फुरणीक्षतदुःशास[4]नोसक्षदपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्व्वतः
स्वगर्व्वतः समुक्षा-

9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितोत्तुंगच्छायाश्रृंगः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)थस-

10 त्योऽतिदूरविच्छिन्नसकोपद्रवाशङ्कश्च श्री(श्रं)कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोचितसहज-
पुरुषकारातिरेककरदीक्ष-

11 तप्रातिराज्यभूभृत्(द्) भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दित[5]सकलप्रणयिजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेष-
महाशब्दमहासामन्तश्री-

[1] From ink-impressions.
[2] Indicated by a symbol.
[3] This *svapraho* is unnecessary.
[4] The engraver first engraved the letter *sa* and then transformed it into *sa* without erasing the loop of *ta*.
[5] A very small *ta* has been unnecessarily engraved above the line between *sdi* and *ta*.

12 चामुण्डराजाभिधानोतिधन्यस्तनयोभवत्[1]स्माच्च गतियुक्तः गरुडरादिव गिरिवाहनः श्रुति-
विशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मा-

13 दिव कमल[2]योनिः सकललोकलोचनानन्दकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्क-
मलिनीकृतकृतयुगसंभवं सच्च-

14 रितचित्तमिवोन्मील[यि*]तुं धर्म्मादिवाजातशत्रुक्षमोत्पनः(त्नः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनमनःसमीहि-
ताधिकफलसम्पादनक्षमः क्ष-

15 पितविपक्षव(व)ध्वमललोचनानवरतश्रुत[3]जलसंपातशमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिशितनिस्त्रिं-
(स्त्रिं)शविद्युल्लतापरिच्छ-

16 तवर्म्मिरिपुमेघवृन्दस्यन्दद[4]नवरतरक्तोदवि(बि)न्दुधारासारतया[5]सकृदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ्र
मोच(ऽ)नस्यदो-

17 षापगमासादितोदयो भानुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तारुणपादश्च मेरुरिव
स्थितिमान् विबुधजनान[6]न्दि-

18 तमानसश्च प्रणतसमस्तनृपगणमकुटपृथुललाटतटगिलाट्टथमाणचरणनखमयू(यू)खविक्षेपो-

Second Plate.

19 ज्ज्वलीकृतनिजमहिमसंचयः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ता(न्ता)धिपतिश्रीमदम्मुकः सर्व्वा-
नेवात्मीयानमात्य-

20 पुरोहितजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयोपरिकबलाधिकृतविषयपतिशौल्किकदुःसाधमाधनिकचौरोद्ध-
रणिकवेत्ति-

21 पिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्[7] लिखिवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्म(ग्र)हत्तरकुटुवि(म्बि)नश्च
समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं य-

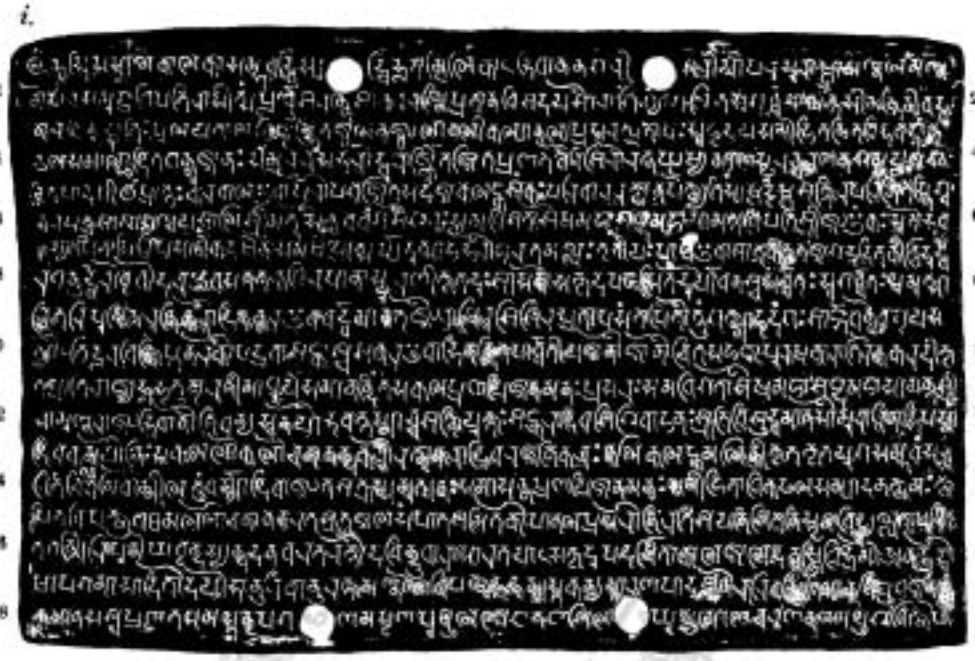
22 था मया स्वभुज्यमानस्वर्षमज(ङ्ग)र्यभिधानविषयसम्बद्ध्यमानः पु(पू)र्व्वप्रसिद्धचतुर्हिंक्य(ङ्क)-
रिच्छिन्(न्न)स्वसीमासमवेतः सभोगभागः मट-

[1] The sentence ends with *-bhavat*, and so there should have been a *danda* after that word.
[2] The letter *ka* is inscribed below the line under the letter *na*.
[3] Read either *-nayana-sruta-jala-* or *-nayanat-śruta-jala-*.
[4] The correct form is *syandamāna-*.
[5] This *anusvāra* mark is unnecessary.
[6] The letter *na* is written below the line between the letters *nā* and *ndi*.
[7] Read *-puruṣānuttarān-*.

Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli:

E.—Grant of King Agguka III; Gupta Samvat 567.

i.



ii.



23 षड्दशापराधः सर्व्वपाताभ्यागामिदान्युपोचामार्ग्गकप्राहुणकवेटकौचिद्रोलादिनिमित्तनैमित्ति-
कपुरस्सरसमग्रो(ग्रे)पादानस-

24 हितः सङ्घत्तमालाकुलः(लो) देवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जो हरिपेणकाभिधानयामः कार्यायात-
कच्छविषयान्तः(न्तः)पातिगोभूचिका-

25 भिधानस्थानवास्तव्यच्छ(क्ष)गोचवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगुहेश्व[र*]सुतरुद्रसागरा-
भ्यां ब्रह्मसंसदुपभोग्यतायै पयः-

26 पूर्व्वमास्तूर्याचन्द्रमसाव(व')धेः सन्तत्युपयोगाय स्वपुन्य(ण्य)यशोभिवृद्धये ब्रह्मदायः प्रति-
पादितोस्य[2] च भुंजतो न केनचिदेयाधि-

27 पतिना परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै(ज्ये)रन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं
भु(भू)मिदानद(फ)लमनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याणि मानुष्यकमपि

28 प्रव(ब)लमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रस्थितजल[ल*]वलोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्य)रिहरदुःखं क्षणिक-
ञ्च जीवितमालोक्य श्रु[3]तिप्रचुरक-

29 दर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरतिस्वच्छमनोभिर-
यमस्मद्वंश्यैरुदायोनुम-

30 न्तव्यः [।*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातनाः(ना) मनसि
निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपद्म-

31 न्थापातकसमयः(यं)श्चावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमान्यैरगच्छित[4]भिरिदमनुस्म-
र्त्त(र्त्त)व्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः [।*] षष्टिं वर्षं-

32 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं(के)
वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा(वा) यो हरेत्तु(त्तु) वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शत-
सहस्र-

33 स्य हंतुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पु(पु)रा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मा-
र्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः

[1] Read *=ā sūrya-chandr-āvadhēḥ*. The vedic expression, *sūryā-chandramasau*, denoting the dual divinity of the sun and the moon, was in the writer's mind here; he has combined it with the word *avadhēḥ* following.

[2] A *sandhi* has been wrongly made here between the last word of the first sentence and the first word of the next sentence. Read *pratipāditāḥ | Asya*

[3] Read *=śāśīva=āśā-*.

[4] Read *°naiv=āgāmibhir=*.

34 पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां)

35 श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यकोचि(जीवि)तञ्च [।*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं(तञ्च) बुध्वा(ह्वा) न हि
पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीमदग्गुकस्य ॥ सम-

36 युत(त)षष्टिसहिते शरदां शतपं(ञ्च)चके गते गौसे [।*] स्वर्भानुयोगम(सि)न्दौ दधति
शुचाविदमदाल्लिखितियः(पः) ॥ इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वत्से(र्ष)ततिर्म्मा-

37 धवस्य तनयेन [।*] गुणिना शासनसंज्ञा क्षोज्झेन नराधिपादेशात् ॥ इति ॥

F.—Grant of king Jāika II; Gupta Saṁvat, 596.

This record has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates**, which have been held together by means of two rings passing through two holes made near the edge. The **fish symbol**, the insignia of the dynasty, is not embossed on either ring, but is engraved at the end of the second plate. The size of the 1st plate is $13\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{5}{8}''$ and that of the 2nd $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$, and the weight of both the plates and the rings is $495\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*. They are thus much heavier than the other plates of this set.

21 lines have been engraved on the first plate and 20 on the second. The engraving has been done fairly well, though there are several mistakes. The *mātrās* for medial *i* and *ī* show graceful and sweeping curves; the same is the case with the left-side limb of *la*. The **language** and the **characters** are similar to those of Charter E issued by the father of the present donor. As there have been introduced as many as seven ancestors of the donor in the genealogy, and as only two plates were to be used for the record, the description of the earlier rulers has been done briefly in two or three adjectives only. Many of the phrases and expressions used in this connection are new, though unfortunately most of them are quite useless for the purpose of the historian.

As to **orthography**, the only observation that need be made is about the punctuation. It is very defective. A large number of punctuation marks have been unnecessarily used in the record; see ll. 13, 17, 21, 23, 24, etc.

The grant recorded in this charter was made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrī-Jāika** II, son of king **Agguka** who had issued Charter E. The present charter gives the longest genealogy, going back to the 7th ancestor of the donor. It has been already discussed in the general introduction. We may only add here that the members of the collateral families founded by Krishṇarāja, brother of Jāika I and by Aggaka, brother of Chāmuṇḍarāja II, are naturally omitted from this genealogy.

The charter has been **dated** both in words and in numerals; ll. 39 and 40 inform us that **it was issued on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha when five hundred and ninety-six years had elapsed according to the Gupta era.** In the absence of further details, the exact date cannot be verified, but it was most probably Thursday, the 29th of June 915 A.D., when there was the full-moon day of Āshāḍha.

The charter records that the revenues of the village Chhampāṇaka were assigned to **Sāhā Janārdana and others** to be spent for *Nanna-maṭhikā*, which had been founded by a merchant

named Nanna, hailing from Bhillamāla or modern Bhinmal. This *Nanna-maṭhikā* may have been a mere temple like *Purushōttama-maṭhikā* to the north-east of which it was situated. But Nanna as the name of an Indian deity is not known, and the temples named after their founders usually bear an *īśvara* suffix added to their founders' names. Thus a temple founded by Nanna would be known as Nannēśvara and not merely as *Nanna-maṭhikā*. *Maṭhikā* or *maṭha* also denotes a place where spiritual and educational lessons are imparted, and ll. 27-8 lay down that Sāhī Janārdana and others, who were to hold the property, were expected to be engaged in sacred studies. It is therefore probable that what Nanna had done was to found a school or college rather than a temple; or his temple itself may have become a seat of learning, as was the case with so many shrines of ancient and medieval periods. One-fourth of the revenue of the village was to be utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas every day; these may have included the poor students of the college. Three-fourths of the income was to be utilised for the expenses of the *maṭha*, probably consisting of the pay of the teachers, stipends to students, and worship of the temple, if it was included in the *maṭha* establishment.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Svarṇamañjarī** and **Bhillamāla** have been already met with. The village **Chhampāṇaka** that was granted was probably the same as modern **Chāvaṇḍ**, situated about 15 miles north of Junagad. If we are correct in holding that the rather cryptic expression, which gives the boundaries of the village, states that the village **Īśvarāṇaka** was to its north, then the above identification would become very probable, for to the north of modern Chāvaṇḍ is situated the village of **Īśvariā**. Other boundary villages however cannot be traced in the survey maps.

TEXT[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्खिलकालकासंभवर्द्धिभूतावि(वि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपर-

2 समुद्राधिपतिश्रीमज्जयद्रथवंशगोखरः श्रीपुष्यदेवाभिधानः क्षितिपतिर्ब्भूव । तस्य च कुवलयदलश्यामलैक-

3 चारुकरभ्राजमानानवद्यपुष्करतया[3] विनायकीकृतसा(स)कलसपद्मखण्डलः श्रीकृष्णराजनामा न(त)नयोभवत् ।

4 तस्यापि विपुलविपुलविप्रतीकपयोधिवलजलनिमग्नक्षभूमण्डलोद्धरणसौकर्यलीलाप्रकटितमहा-

5 वराहमहिमा श्रीमदमुकाभिधान[4]स्तस्यापि निशितनिस्तृं(स्त्रिं)शपातक्षतविपक्षक्षतिक्षरत्क्षत-जराज्यनुरज्यमा-

[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Indicated by a symbol.

[3] The word *pushkara* is here used in the unusual sense of a sword.

[4] The word *tanayaḥ* has been probably omitted here through inadvertence.

6 नाजिचितितलजयश्रीः श्रीरागकनामा[1] तस्य च प्रणमदूर्जितानंतसामंतमस्तकन्यस्तपृथुललाट-
तटशिलाशाणाघृ-

7 ष्यमाणस्फुरद्धरणनखमयूखविसरोज्ज्वल(ली)कृतनिजमहिमसंचयः ।[2] अनेकनिकषपट्टबद्धिर्यं(यं)-
धप्रबंधप्रकटित

8 सातिरेककृतयुगव्यवस्थः । एकाच्युतोरस्थलावस्थानावसीदन्मानसयेव श्रिया समाश्(श्लि)त-
सर्व्वावयवः श्रीजाई-

9 कनामा सूनुरभूत् । तस्य च समरशरन्निशाकर[3]रश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्यामलितस-
गर्व्वशत्रुसामंत-

10 सीमंतिनीपदनारविंदद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृंभितज्वलज्ज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः
श्रीचा-

11 मुण्डराजाभिधानस्तनयस्तस्माच्च(च) शक्तियुक्तः शक्र(क्र)रादिव शिखण्डिवाहनः श्रुतिविश्रु-
[ब*]मानसो मुरारिनाभि-

12 नलिनादिव नलिनयोनिः सकललोकलोचनानंदकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिक-
लंकमलिनो-

13 ऽकृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सचरितचित(च)मिवोन्मीलयितुं धर्म्मा(र्म्मा)दिवाजातशत्रुः समुत्पन्नः(न्नः) ।[4]
सकलप्रणयिजनम

14 नःममीप्सिताधिकफलसंपादनकल्पपादपः क्षपितविपक्षप(व)ध्वमा(म)ललोचनानवरतसुताश्रुज-
लसंपा-

15 तशमितकोपानलप्रसरो बहुविपक्षपशुवधसिद्धिसमरमखदीक्षाचार्यः ।[5] श्रीमदग्गुकाभिधा-
नोतिधन्य-

16 स्तनयोभवत्तस्य च तुरगखुरखुरमुखोत्खातबहलबलधूलीवितानजायमानसमदकरिकरटगलि-

17 तदानजलसीकरासारजनितपंकानुबंधः कृपाणधाराभिहतायतधव(व)ग्रंयतसमुद्दीर्णवह्निस्फुलिंग-
खद्यो-

18 तमालाश्चितसमरदुर्दिनः ।[6] पृथ्व्यंगसि ।[7] अजातशत्रुर्व्वंचसि ।[8] तपनस्तेजसि ॥[9] मरु-
त्तरसि कंदर्पो वयसि ।[10] ज-

[1] A word like sutō has to be supplied here. From Charters A and B, we know that Rāyaka was a son of Aggoka.

[2] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[3] The letter ra is defectively engraved; the right hand horizontal stroke is missing.

[4] After Abhūt, a punctuation mark should have been inserted to mark the end of the sentence.

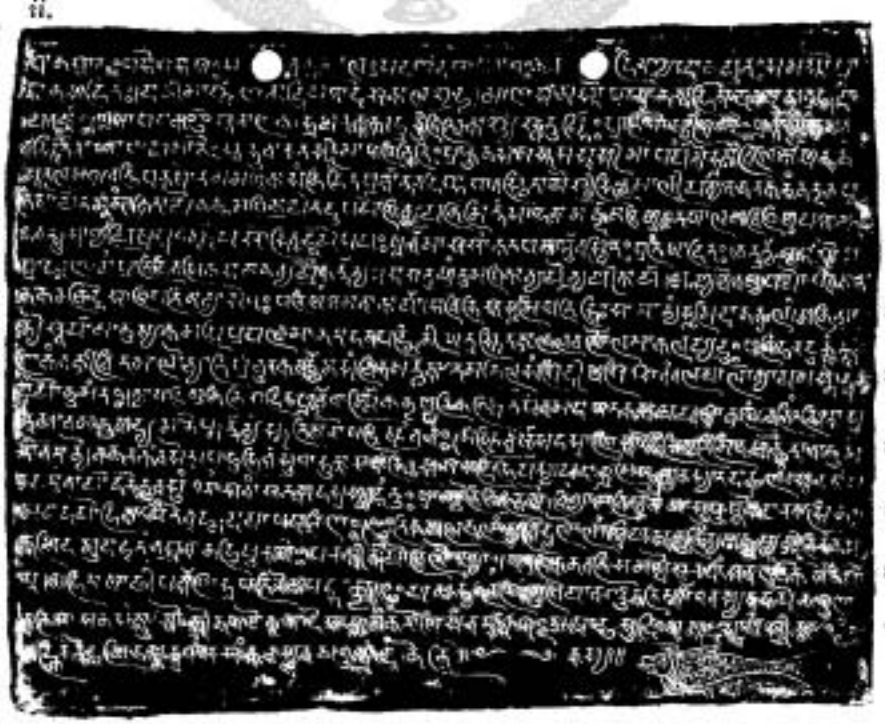
SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

F.—GRANT OF KING JAIKA II; GUPTA SAMVAT 596.

i.



ii.



19 नको मित्रांजसि[1] ।[2] समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीजाईकः सर्व्वानेवामात्य-युवराजराजपु-

20 त्रदेशाधिपतिविषयाधिकृतदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचौरोद्धरणिकवैषेपिकचारभटादिकसमस्तराज-

21 पुरुषां(षान्) समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्येवं यथा ।[3] मया स्वर्णमंजरीविषयसंव(ब)द्धमानकपाणकाभि-

Second Plate.

22 धानग्रामः सभोगभागः सहचमालः सदण्डदशापराधः करहिरण्यादानयुतः समस्तोपा-

23 दानसहितः ।[2] दानीमार्म्मणकादियथादेशकालगृह्यमाणसमस्तोपादानसहितो देवदायब्र-(ब्र)ह्मदा-

24 यवर्ज्जः ।[2] लूपापटक ईश्वराणक ।[2] भ्रमरकक ।[2] हुडुंवि(वि)लिकाख्यैश्चतुर्भिः प्रतिगोष्ठीग्रामैः पूर्व्वादिदिक्(ङ्)मध्या-

25 वस्थितैराघाटायमानैः स्वभुवा कृतसीमापरिच्छित्ति(त्तिः) प्राक्तनसमस्तस(ग्र)स्तसीमापर्य्यंतो भूताम्वि(म्बि)लिकाप्रत्तन-

26 स्वतलमध्यवर्त्ति(र्त्ति)प(पु)रुषोत(त्त)ममधि(ठि)कासंनिहितपूर्व्वोत्तरदिग्भागावस्थितायै श्रीभिन्नमा-लीयव्यवहरक(हारिक)नंनकृतग्र-

27 तिष्ठायै तत्रामांकितायै नत्रमधि(ठि)कायै तदुपयोगिव्ययनिमित्तं साहेजनार्हनादिषु कृत-पालनाविधिषु यथाकालं

28 भवत्सु स्वाध्यायिषु स्वधर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये पयःपूर्व्वमा शशांकतपनार्णवस्थितेः प्रतिपादितः । चतुर्त्थश्च भागोस्य

29 ब्राह्मणानां प्रातिदिवसिकभोजनव्ययै कर्त्तव्यः । भागद्वयं तु मधि(ठि)काव्ययै व्ययो-कार्य[म्*] । अस्य चैवमुपयोगे व्रजतो

30 न केनचिद्देशाधिपतिना व्यासेधः परिपंथना वा कार्या । भाविभिश्च भूमिपतिभिः सामान्यं भूमिदानफलं ।[2] अनित्या-

31 न्यैश्वर्य्या[श्चि*] मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रस्थितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दुःप-(दुष्प)रिहरदुक्खं(दुःखं) च-

[1] The meaning of this clause is not clear. Probably a word denoting quality has been omitted after *Jasakó*, and we have to read for the last four letters *mitram=ārjavi* 'a friend in straightforwardness'. *Ārjava*, n. means velocity and *ārjava* adj. has the sense of honest, straightforward.

[2] This punctuation mark is unnecessary

[3] The letter *pa* is redundant; read *samājñāpayatyu*.

32 खिकं च जीवितमालोच्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्त्यजातमनिलसंगिदीपं(प)शिखाचंचलमालोच्यायमस्मदग्रे-

33 दायोनुमंत[व्य*]: । व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितपूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपप[१]रिकल्पितपंचमहाप(पा)तकसमयस्यावर्णा च चिंतयित्वा प्र-

34 तियाचनानुवक्ष्यमाणै[:*] ज्ञात्वं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः । षष्टि(ष्टिं) र्व्व(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति [भू*]मिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-

35 ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥[।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[।*] स्वदत्तां प-

36 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वसुंधरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हं(ह)न्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ विध्या(न्या)टवि(वी)श्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।

37 महाहयो हि जां(जा)यंते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायापहारिणः ॥[।*] इति कमलदलांबुबिंदुलोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] स-

38 क[ल*]मिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(द्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[।*] षडधिकनवतिसमये शरदां शतपंचके गते गो-

39 मे । अहिताषाढीपर्व्वणि भूपतिरेन(नं) च[२] सङ्क्रमा । [।*] इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वर्ष्मततिर्म्माधवस्य तनयेन । शुच-

40 वति शासनसंज्ञा क्षोज्झेन पटे नृपादेशात् ॥[।*] शंकतोपि संवत् ५००, ८०, ६ (५८६) आषाढशुदि १०, ५, (१५) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजार्ज्ज-

41 कस्य[३] ॥ उद्विग्नेदं[४]मिह सूत्रधारशंकरसुतमधुसूदनेनि(न) ॥[५]

[1] The second *pa* has been engraved below the line under the first *pa*.

[2] The letter *cha* has been engraved below the line between *na* and *sa*. There is no verb in the verse; *bhūpatir=enaṁ dadau bhaktyā* would therefore be a better reading.

[3] Letters *kasya* have been engraved at the end of this line, just before the fish symbol. The division of the king's signature in this queer way may be due to two causes. The idea to engrave the royal sign manual may have occurred later after the whole record was engraved; the space left at the end of l. 40 was utilised for this purpose and when this was found insufficient, the two concluding letters were shoved in between the space lying vacant between the two symbols and the fish symbol at the end of the last line. Or, the engraver Madhusūdana thought that the whole record, including the royal signature, could be finished in l. 40, but before finishing that line he hurried to record his own name in l. 41. When eventually l. 40 was later completed and it was discovered that the last two letters of the king's signature could not be accommodated in that line, there was no alternative but to put them between the symbols at the end of l. 41. Had the engraver been not impatient to put his own name before finishing the record, this queer division of the king's name would not have been necessitated.

[4] Read *Uddhṛtenaṁ=idam*. Probably the form of the word in the text discloses the standard of the knowledge of Sanskrit of the engravers' class.

[5] There are two conch-like symbols after the punctuation mark. They are followed first by the letters *kasya* and then by the fish symbol. The first symbol looks like the *ṁ* symbol.

No. 28.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

In his article[1] on the date of the Pāṇḍava or Sōmavaṁśī kings of Southern Kōsala, Mr. A. Ghosh has attempted to show that the date (*viz.*, the second quarter of the sixth century A. D.) which I had tentatively assigned to Tīvaradēva of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty is too early. According to him Tīvaradēva may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

The main argument advanced by Mr. Ghosh is palæographical. He has shown by a palæographical chart that the test letters *bh*, *y*, *ś*, *s*, and *h* in the so-called Bhāndak inscription[2] of Nannarājādhirāja, the father of Tīvaradēva and the Śirpur inscription[3] of Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Tīvaradēva, are more developed than those of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription[4] of Bhīmasēna II. This latter inscription comes from Chhattīsgarh and as such its evidence is most valuable. Following the late R. B. Hiralal who has edited the plates in this Journal, Mr. Ghosh takes the date of this inscription to correspond to A. D. 601. As the inscription of Nannarāja exhibits more developed forms of the test letters, Mr. Ghosh thinks that the ascription of that inscription to a date earlier than A. D. 650 is a palæographical impossibility. He therefore tentatively places Tīvaradēva, the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

It is indeed true that the aforementioned test letters have more developed forms in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, but these inscriptions need not on that account be referred to a date later than A. D. 650. As the accompanying palæographical chart[5] will show, these test letters had assumed these later forms even before A. D. 600, for we find all of them in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, dated A. D. 588. In this inscription *bh* and *s* have a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; *y* has become bipartite; *ś* in some cases shows its right vertical stroke projecting a little above its top and the right limb of *h* hangs down. The same developed forms are noticed in the Madhuban plate of Harsha, dated A. D. 631[6]. It may be objected that both these inscriptions come from North India and consequently their evidence is inadmissible for fixing the date of such southern records as the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. I would, in that case, invite attention to the forms of the test letters in the plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, dated A. D. 619-20, which come from the Ganjām District. In all these inscriptions which range in dates from A. D. 588 to 631, we find the same developed forms of the test letters that we notice in the inscriptions

[1] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1905, pp. 617 ff. As I have shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.), the inscription did not probably belong to Bhāndak, but came originally from some place in Chhattīsgarh.

After this note was sent to the press, my friend Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal who has recently returned from England supplied me an extract from a manuscript (Marāṭhī, D 46) deposited in the India Office Library, London. This MS. contains an account of the inscriptions in Chhattīsgarh by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar who was in the service of Mr. Richard Jenkins, the British Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. In this account Aurangabadkar states that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity. This has unexpectedly corroborated my conjecture about the provenance of this inscription which was long in doubt.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

[5] The letters in this chart have been traced as accurately as possible from the published facsimile plates of the records.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 158.

of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. These forms may have become current about A. D. 550.[1] This will show that the dates which I had assigned to Tīvaradēva and Mahā-Śivagupta are not altogether wide of the mark.

How then are we to reconcile the evidence of the Āraṅg plates? As shown by Mr. Ghosh, these plates present earlier forms of the test letters, but they are dated A. D. 601. I think there is a mistake in the reading of the date which is given in lines 12-13 of the inscription. R. B. Hīralal read the date as *Guptānāṁ saṁvatsara-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8* and translated it as 'in the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra, on the day 10 8 (?)'. It is plain that the writer intended to give the year of the date both in words and in figures, but omitted inadvertently some expression like *dvy-aśīty-uttarē* after *saṁvatsara-śatē*[2]. Is there a similar mistake in the expression *saṁvatsara-śatē* also, the intended expression being *saṁvatsara-śata-dvayē*[3]? I do not think so, because firstly, the characters of the inscription are, as shown above, much earlier than A. D. 601-2 to which the record will have to be assigned if the intended reading is *saṁvatsara-śata-dvayē dvy-aśīt-yuttarē*; secondly, the symbols which follow give the date **182**, not **282**. As in other records of the period, the date is expressed here by numerical symbols. The first symbol stands for **100**, since the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into one for 200 is wanting here. The date of the Āraṅg plates is thus G. E. 182 (not 282) which corresponds to A. D. 501-2. This fits in admirably with the evidence of its early characters.

None of the inscriptions of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of Sōmavaṁśī kings is dated in any era. The dates of these kings can therefore be fixed only approximately. In my article on the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, I tentatively assigned Tīvaradēva to the period 530 to 550 A. D. on the supposition that he was a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess. The contemporaneity of Tīvaradēva and Mādhavavarman I was suggested by the expression *Trivara-nagara* which occurs in two inscriptions[4] of the latter. Mr. Ghosh takes *Trivara-nagara* to mean the city of Tripurī, but this interpretation is doubtful because the name of the city current in the sixth century A. D. was Tripurī[5], not Trivara. Even if Trivara is regarded as a partially Prakritized form of Tripurī, it is not clear why such a corrupt form should occur not once but twice in records which are throughout written in good Sanskrit. The other arguments of Mr. Ghosh are more or less conjectural.

[1] Dr. Hoernle has shown that subsequent to A. D. 540 the cursive bipartite form of *y* is found in undisputed possession of the field (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 35), but the Harāhā stone inscription dated A. D. 554, in which the old tripartite form of *y* is used together with the later bipartite form of the letter, indicates that the older form persisted a little longer.

[2] Compare the wording of the dates of Nos. 1267, 1270, 1275, 1280, 1284, 1290, etc., in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

[3] Compare the wording *saṁ-śōtarē=bda-śata-dvayē* of the date of No. 1298 of Bhandarkar's *List*. I do not think that the expression *saṁvatsara-śatē* in the date of the Āraṅg plates is nominative dual (meaning two hundred years); for the locative (and not the nominative) is generally used in such cases. See the wording of the dates cited in note 2 above.

[4] See the Ipūr plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff. and the Pulombūra plates, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.

[5] The *Tripurīśvāsaya* is mentioned in the Bētul plates of Saṅkshōbha, dated G. E. 199 (A. D. 518-19), above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART RELATING TO THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

	gh	y	ṣ'	ṣ	h
ĀRAṄG PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA II, A.D. 501.	घ	ल्य	ग	ग्ग	ह
BHĀNDAK(?) INSCRIPTION OF NANNARĀJĀDHIRĀJA	घ	ल्य	ग	ग्ग	ह
BODH GAYĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN A.D. 588.	घ	ल्य	ग	ग्ग	ह
PLATES OF THE TIME OF ŚAŚĀṄKA RĀJA A.D. 619.	घ	ल्य	ग	ग्ग	ह
MADHUBAN PLATE OF HARSHA A.D. 631.	घ	ल्य	ग	ग्ग	ह

It is not of course altogether unlikely that Tīvaradēva flourished a few years later than the period I have tentatively assigned to him. The inscriptions of Bhīmasēna II, the kings of Śarabhapura and the Sōmavaṁśī kings come from the same part of Chhattīsgarh[1]. These kings seem to have flourished in the order stated above. As we have already seen, Bhīmasēna II was ruling in A. D. 501-2. He seems to have been overthrown soon afterwards by a king of Śarabhapura, probably Mahā-Jayarāja, who coming from the East[2] seems to have established himself in Chhattīsgarh. The plates of his cousins Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja also have been found in Chhattīsgarh. We may assign about thirty years[3] to the reigns of these three princes. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last king of this line, seems to have been overthrown by Indrabala, the son of Udayana, who may have invaded the country during the campaign of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman against an Āndhra king. No inscriptions of Indrabala have been discovered in Chhattīsgarh, but those of his sons Nannarāja and Īśānadēva have been found there. We may assign about thirty years to the reigns of these princes. The stone inscription of Nannarāja thus may have been incised about A. D. 550. This would account for the developed forms of the test letters in that record.

Tīvaradēva the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva may thus have come to the throne about A. D. 560. He was probably a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I whose Pulomburu plates[4] suggesting his victory over Tīvaradēva, I have tentatively assigned to A. D. 565. Tīvaradēva becomes also a contemporary of Sūryavarman, the Maukhari prince mentioned in the Harāhā stone inscription[5] dated A. D. 554. This Sūryavarman is probably identical with the homonymous king of 'the Varman family great on account of its supremacy over Magadha', whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Tīvaradēva's nephew Harshagupta.

[1] The inscription of Bhīmasēna was found at Āraṅg, those of the kings of Śarabhapura at Āraṅg, Khariar, Sīrpur, Raipur, Sārangarh and Ṭhākurdiyā and of the Sōmavaṁśī kings at Khaṛod, Rājiṇ, Baloḍā, Sīrpur and Āraṅg. It is not of course absolutely certain that the copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasēna II found at Āraṅg properly belongs to Chhattīsgarh, as the identification of the place-names mentioned in it is not beyond doubt. But in the following discussion I have taken for granted that Bhīmasēna II was ruling in Chhattīsgarh. Śūra, the first king mentioned in the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasēna II, is perhaps identical with Śūryaghōsha mentioned in the stone inscription of Nannarāja, who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) which was later on repaired during the reign of Nannarāja. In Sanskrit *Śūra* and *Sūrya* are synonyms.

[2] The capital of these princes until the time of Mahā-Pravararāja was Śarabhapura, which may be identical with Śarabhgarh in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa.

[3] This period might appear unusually short for three reigns, but we have to remember that the total of the known reign-periods of these three kings is not more than 18, *viz.*, 5 years of Jayarāja (Āraṅg plates), 10 years of Sudēvarāja (Raipur plates) and 3 years of Pravararāja (Ṭhākurdiyā plates).

[4] Some scholars take this Mādhavavarman to be the third prince of that name, notwithstanding the fact that like Mādhavavarman I of the Chikkullā plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.) he is credited with the performance of 11 *Agnishṭōmas* and 1,000 sacrifices. These scholars take Mādhavavarman who is similarly described in the Rāmatīrtham plates to be Mādhavavarman II. As Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao has observed, "other princes of the dynasty, who had not the fortune of being called Mādhavavarmans, are not credited with having performed any sacrifices. It cannot be explained why the family tradition made the celebration of horse-sacrifice, etc. the monopoly of Mādhavavarmans". *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Univ., Vol. XI, p. 48. It seems therefore better to identify these three princes.

[5] The characters of this inscription are not earlier than those of the Āraṅg plates as Mr. Ghosh thinks. It presents the bipartite *y* in several places, see *e.g.*, *yōdhāṁ*, l. 1; *pauraṇa*, l. 8; *pō*, l. 9; *nādīhay=aiva*, l. 14, etc.; the right hand vertical of *ś* in some cases rises a little above its top, see *varaṇ-āśrama-*, l. 5; *nāgē-śāsaṇāṁ*, l. 6, etc.; *bh* and *s* have a wedge on the left though it is not yet hollow. The inscription thus clearly appears to be later than the Āraṅg plates.

The contemporaneity of Tivaradēva and Sūryavarman makes this matrimonial alliance of the two royal families quite likely. The capital of the Maukharis was not, of course, situated in Magadha, but the country was probably included in the Maukhari Empire during the reign of Īśānavarman, the father of Sūryavarman, as he is said to have carried his arms as far as Gauḍa. Until another king of the name Sūryavarman becomes known, it seems better to accept this identification.

The Sōmavaṁśī kings thus flourished in Chhattīsgarh in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.

No. 29.—TWO RECORDS OF PARANTAKA I FROM TAKKOLAM.

By the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

Takkōlam is a village in the Arkonam taluk of the North Arcot District. It has an old temple of the Chōḷa type, which contains epigraphs dating from the time of the early king Āditya I, one of which has already been published[1]. The god of this temple was in ancient times called Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva, because of the existence of a natural spring in the temple precincts and this name has been Sanskritised into the present appellation of Jalanāthēśvara.

The two short inscriptions[2] published below as **A** and **B** are engraved on a narrow belt on the base of the central shrine of this temple. The **characters** in which they are engraved are attributable to the **10th century A. D.** and the **language** of the record is fairly correct Tamil. A few omissions of letters are noticeable here and there, due perhaps to the carelessness of the engraver. In point of **orthography**, there is nothing very particular to notice, except that the letter *ṟā* is written both in the ordinary manner and with the secondary length added as a separate symbol. Sanskrit letters are used for some words such as *Parāntakadēva*, *Dharmāsana*, etc., in record A, while they are in Tamil characters in the other epigraph. The verbal suffix *āṉōm* is spelt as a separate word in some instances, and also in combination with the preceding verb in other cases. The Dakshiṇāmūrti shrine on the southern side hides from view some portions in both the records but as their wording is nearly identical, the missing words can be surmised and the full texts of the records restored fairly completely.

The records are dated in the **31st year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman**, i.e., Parāntaka I, and they register two gifts of 30 *kaḻañju* each made by the **daugher of Śōḻaperumāṉaḍigaḷ** (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king) Parāntaka (A. D. 907-953) who is also further described as the *Mahādēviyār* (queen) of **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar**. Her personal name is mentioned in the record B as **Viramādēviyār**. These gifts are stated to have been left separately in the charge of the *ūr* (assembly) of the two villages Chammaḷalai in Dāmar-kōṭṭam and Urāḍagam in Maṇayil-kōṭṭam, for the supply of oil for burning a perpetual lamp each in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva at Takkōlam. The records are important in that they mention a **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar** as the son-in-law of Parāntaka I; and though the dynasty to which he belonged is not specified, it is possible to identify him with the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV** for whom records are found from about A. D. 918 to at least A. D. 933-34.

The name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar is composed of two parts—'Gōvinda' the personal name and 'Vallavaraiyar' the dynastic title. From Rāshṭrakūṭa copper-plate grants it is learnt that

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 81. The historical and other facts connected with this village have been mentioned at some length in that article.

[2] Nos. 245 and 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

Dantidurga, an early king of this dynasty, who defeated the Chāḷukya king Kīrtivarman of Bādāmi, was the first to assume the title of *Pṛithivīvallabha*[1]. This title curtailed into 'Vallabha' (and 'Ballaha') became a particular *birada* of the subsequent kings of this family[2], and was used either by itself or in conjunction with the respective proper names of the kings, such as Nirupama-Vallabha, Indra-Vallabha[3], Kṛishṇa-Vallabha[4], etc. The kings bearing the personal name of Gōvinda were also similarly referred to as Gōvinda-Vallabha[5] or Gojjiga-Vallabha[6], by the addition of the title 'Vallabha' to their name of Gōvinda or Gojjiga. A bilingual record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[7] in the Chingleput District dated in the 18th year of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradēva 'who took Kachchi and Taṇjai' (*i.e.*), Kṛishṇa III, registers a gift made by a merchant of Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital, who is described as '*ennūṟ Vallabha-kkāmipāla-mahitō yō Mānyakhēṭ-ō(ō)bhavaḥ*'. The Tamil counterpart of the same epigraph refers to this merchant as a '*Vallavaraiyar kaṭakattu vyāpāri*'. Another inscription[8] from the same temple refers to Kṛishṇa III as 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēva', and registers a gift made by his mother Pūlaichchi-Rāṇiyār. From these instances, it is evident that the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings used the title of 'Vallabha' and its Tamil equivalent of 'Vallavaraiyar' to indicate their dynasty, in the same way as Pāṇḍiyaṉār signified a Pāṇḍya king and 'Sēramāṉār' a Chēra ruler. Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar of the records under consideration can therefore be identified as a member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Though the titles Vallavaraiyar and Pallavaraiyar may have been sometimes used by petty nondescript chieftains in later times, the fact that this Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar had married the daughter of the powerful Chōḷa king Parāntaka marks him out as a great personage presumably of royal status.

Who could have been this royal personage by name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar, who belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty and who flourished in this period? From the records copied hitherto in the Madras Presidency[9] as well as in the Bombay-Karnāṭak[10], it is learnt that there was such a king answering to the name of Gōvinda-Vallabha or Gōyinda-Vallabha, who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D. His earliest record[11] is dated in Śaka 840 corresponding to December A.D. 918, and his last record[12] so far known bears the date Śaka 855 corresponding to A.D. 933-4. He was thus a contemporary of Parāntaka, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his having married a daughter of that Chōḷa king. In fact it can be inferred from some Chōḷa records that Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa alliances dated from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself, as will be shown in the sequel.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 11 ff. and *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

[2] [It is more probable that the *birada* of 'Vallabha' which had been borne by the Chālukya kings was adopted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas as their political successors.—N. L. R.]

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 59 (No. 73 of 1904) wherein the king is called Indra-Vallabha, while in No. 57 the form Indra-Ballabha occurs. Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha occurs in B. K. No. 47 of 1933-34.

[4] Kṛishṇa II was called Kṛishṇa-Vallabha (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 190 and f. n. 1). Kṛishṇa III was called Akālavarsha and was referred to as Vallabha also (*ante*, Vol. IV, p. 278). In No. 562 of 1915 the king is referred to as Raṭṭa-Ballaha only.

[5] No. 297 of 1918 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61). He was also called simply as Vallabha-Narēndra (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27).

[6] The form Gojjiga-Vallabha occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249, Gojjiga being a local dialectical form of Gōvinda.

[7] No. 177 of 1912.

[8] No. 179 of 1912. The actual expression is 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēvar tāyār Pūlaichchi-Rāṇiyār'.

[9] No. 297 of 1918 of Gōvinda-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 853 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61).

[10] Sāṅgli plates of Gōvinda IV are dated in Ś. 855 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249).

[11] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 223, also B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

[12] No. 540 of 1915 is dated in Śaka 854 and the Sāṅgli plates in Ś. 855. Also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hunsūr, Nos. 21-23.

From the facts known about the reign of Gōvinda, the trend of events between the years A. D. 930 and A. D. 940 may be surmised to have been the following: Gōvinda IV was an unpopular king and his ministers and feudatories were conspiring to depose him. In about A. D. 934, Gōvinda IV went to the help of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Yuddhamalla, when the latter was hard-pressed by Bhīma II, but in the fight that ensued the Rāshṭrakūṭa army suffered a crushing defeat. At the same time in the beginning of A. D. 935, the political upheaval at the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital came to a head, resulting in the accession of Amōghavarsha III, and Gōvinda IV unable to face the strong party of his enemies at home, fled to the court of his father-in-law Parāntaka I. Gōvinda's records in the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory stop with A. D. 933-4 and from about A.D. 935-6, his successor Amōghavarsha III was in occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne, helped by his able and ambitious son Kṛishṇa III. It is possible that as a fugitive Gōvinda IV kept on for some time in the Chōḷa territory, where he was probably staying at the time of the Takkōlam records in A. D. 937. From the statement in the Sūḍi plates[1] of the Gaṅga chief Būtuga II that on the death of Baddega (Amōghavarsha) he had helped Kṛishṇa III to secure the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne from the possession of a certain Lallēya (?), it may be surmised that there was some disturbance soon after Amōghavarsha's death in the beginning of the year A. D. 940. Who this Lallēya was is not clear. It is possible that about this time Gōvinda IV with the help of Parāntaka I had made a feeble attempt to regain his throne and that, being unsuccessful, he had also lost his life in this venture. If this is conceded, Kṛishṇa III's invasion of Chōḷa territory which must have occurred some time after his accession and before A. D. 944, as testified to by the Śiddhalingamaḍam record of his 5th year[2], attains an additional significance, for it must have been as much a war of aggression, as it was one of revenge against the Chōḷa king Parāntaka for the help he had rendered to his rival Gōvinda IV. Though some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present, there is nothing implausible in the sequence of the events, as surmised here, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

As regards the subject-matter of the records, it is stated that the two gifts of 30 *kaḻañju* each were left in the custody of the *Ūr*-assembly of the two villages **Chammaḷalai** and **Urāḍa gam**[3]. These villages must have been situated near enough to Takkōlam itself, to be able to measure the stipulated quantity of oil daily to the temple of Tiruvūṛal-Mahādēva for the maintenance of the perpetual lamps. Failure to supply the oil was liable to a fine of 8½ *kāṛam* for every day of default, which had to be paid to the *Dharmāsanam*, *i.e.*, the court of justice, which functioned in every village in ancient times and looked after the judicial life of the village community. Such conditions and penalties are of the usual type found in Chōḷa records of this period.

Note on Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa relationship.

It has been stated above that the Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa matrimonial alliances had probably commenced even from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself. In this connection, a Tamil record[4] from Tirumaḷavāḍi in the Trichinopoly District is of considerable interest.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 179-80, ll. 51 to 54. These plates, owing to certain irregularities in the date-portion, were considered spurious, but are now accepted as fairly reliable, in so far as the matter contained in them is concerned.

[2] No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. The Sūḍi plates of A. D. 938-9 mention the conquests of Kṛishṇa III; but the date-portion of that record is, as mentioned above, suspect.

[3] A village Urūḍagam *alias* Pallavamalla-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kaḷattūr-nāḍu is mentioned in No. 253 of 1913.

[4] No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

It is dated in the **27th year of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman** and registers a gift of 10 *kaḻañju* of gold and a lamp-stand by a lady named **Iḷaṅgō-Pichchi**, who is described as the **daughter** (*magaḷār*) **of Vallavaraiyar,** and who was probably the **senior queen** (*muṉṉam puguṁda mūttadēviyār*) **of Śōḷa-perumāṇaḍiga**ḷ (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king).[1] The high regnal year 27, as well as the absence of the historical introduction '*Tirumamagaḷ-pōl*' of Rājarāja I in it, favour its attribution to the early king Āditya I (A. D. 870-907)[2]. As the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa[3] state that Āditya I had built on both the banks of the Kāvērī tall stone temples in honour of Śiva, the Tirumaḷavāḍi temple along with some others in its vicinity, may correctly be presumed to have come into existence in the reign of this Chōḷa king. The astronomical details contained in the present record—namely, 27th year, Tulā, Saturday and Bharaṇī which give the equivalent A. D. 897, October 15, Saturday, which is correct for Āditya I, whose initial date has been determined to have been A. D. 870 or 871[4], support this surmise.

Sufficient reasons have been adduced in a previous paragraph to show that 'Vallavaraiyar' was a dynastic title used by the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of this period. The personal name of Vallavaraiyar, the father of the donatrix in the present record, has unfortunately not been specified. As it was not uncommon for the kings of this dynasty to be referred to by their simple dynastic title, the Vallavaraiyar of the Tirumaḷavāḍi record may be identified with Kṛishṇa II, who reigned from A. D. 878 to 913 and was consequently a contemporary of Āditya I (A. D. 870—907). From these facts, it may be presumed that **Āditya I had married a daughter of Kṛishṇa II.**

The possibility of such a matrimonial alliance having taken place gets confirmation, though in an indirect manner, from another circumstance. The ordinary Prākṛit form of Kṛishṇa is Kaṇha, but we find that the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of the name of Kṛishṇa are referred to in their records by the name of 'Kannara'. This latter form is peculiar to the Kannaḍa language of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.[5] Now a record[6] dated in the 8th year of a Rājakēsarivarman, palæographically assignable to the reign of Āditya I, makes mention of a prince called Ādityaṉ-Kaṇṇaradēva, who from the way in which his name has been expressed can be recognised as a son of Āditya and who is also specifically described as the son (*piḷḷaiyār*) of Śōḷaperumāṇaḍiga**ḷ**. As this name 'Kaṇṇaradēva' is foreign to the Chōḷa dynasty and has not been met with as a name of any of their kings, it may be inferred that this particular cognomen for the Chōḷa prince was due to some Rāshṭrakūṭa associations and influence. If, as stated above, Āditya had married the daughter of Vallavaraiyar, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa II *alias* Kaṇṇaradēva, it may be

[1] A portion of the record is damaged. The relevant portion reads :—'Śōḷaperumā.....rkku muṉṉam puguṁda mūttadēviyār Iḷaṅgō-pPichchi Tirumaḷuvāḍi-pPerumāṇaḍiga**ḷ**ukku noṇdā.....' and further on "Ivvaippil Vallavaraiyar magaḷār Iḷaṅgō-pPichchi vaiytta viḷakku." It may be noticed that the lady is called only 'mūttadēviyār'. The name Pichchi may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhikshā* or it may be equivalent to the Kannaḍa *Bijjā*; but it is not clear why the honorific suffix *ōr* or *ār* is not mentioned with her name.

[2] The characters in which this record is engraved are attributable to the 11th century A. D., but when it is remembered that the *Śrīvimāna* of the temple was renovated under the orders of Rājarāja I (28th year) and that the old inscriptions were re-engraved in the 14th year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 651 and 652) the later age of the writing is easily accounted for.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 85.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 336.

[6] No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 595).

expected that his son by this alliance may have been given the name of his maternal grandfather Kaṇṇara.[1] This appears to have actually been the case.

As it was Parāntaka I who had succeeded Āditya I, it may have to be presumed that either the Chōḷa prince Kaṇṇaradēva had predeceased his father, or that his claims for succession were superseded by the more powerful Parāntaka, the son of Āditya, probably by another queen. This may perhaps explain the attitude of Krishṇa II towards Parāntaka I, with whom he appears to have come into conflict as early as A. D. 912, with unfavourable results to himself.[2]

TEXT OF A.[3]

1 Svasti Śrī [‖*] **Madirai-[ko]ṇḍa kō-pParakēśaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu mup-patto[ṇ*]ṟāvadu** Dāmar-kkōṭṭattu-ttan kūṟṟa-[ch*]Chammaḷalai ūrōṅ-kaiyy-eḻuttu [‖*] **Śōḻaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Parāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōvinda-Valla-varaiyar mādēviyār**[4] Takkōlattu Tiruvūṟal-Mādēvarkku nandāviḷakk-o[5].....ppoṇ koṇḍu chandir-āditta-varai niśadam uḻakk-eṇṇai aṭṭuvōm-āṇōm[‖*] I[v*]v-eṇṇai muṭṭil dhanmāsaṇattu niśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇan daṇḍappaṭṭum niśadi u[6].....m-āṇō[m*] [‖*] Ivv-eṇṇai taṇḍa vandārkku niśadam i[r*]aṇḍu śōṟu kuḍuppōm-āṇō[m*] [‖] Tiru[7].....śadam uḻakk-āmbaḍi tiruvuṇṇāḻigaikkūṯ koṇḍu vandu aṭṭuvōm-āṇōm[‖*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first year** of king **Parakēsarivarman, who took Madura**, this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of Chanmaḷalai, (*a village*) in the sub-division of the same name in Dāmar-kōṭṭam.

The amount which the **daughter of the Chōḷa king Parāntakadēva,** (*and*) **the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar,** endowed for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva of Takkōlam is [thirty *kaḻañju*]. Receiving this gold, we shall supply daily (*one*) *uḻakku* of oil, as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*).

If there is default in (*the supply of*) this oil, we shall supply daily the *uḻakku* of oil, after paying to the *Dhanmāsanam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (*for*) every day (*of default*). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.....We shall bring and supply this oil at the central shrine (*itself*) at one *uḻakku* per day.

TEXT OF B.[8]

1 Svasti Śrī [‖*] **Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēśaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu muppatt-oṉṟāvadu** Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭattu Puriśai-nāṭṭu [Urā]ḍagatt-ūrōm kaiyy-eḻu(e)uttu

[1] This practice of naming a grandson after the paternal, preferentially, or the maternal grandfather was common. Such instances from other royal families can be cited.

[2] *Ante*, p. 114.

[3] No. 245 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[4] The letter *vi* is engraved below the line.

[5] The stone is damaged here. The missing syllables '*ṟukku vaitta poṉ muppadiṉ kaḻañju* [‖*] *i*' may be supplied from B.

[6] The missing syllables are '*ḻakku eṇṇai aṭṭuvō*'.

[7] The syllables which are missing here cannot easily be guessed.

[8] No. 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[|*] **Śōḷaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Pirāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōviynda-Vallavaraiyar māha(mahā)dēviyār Viramādēviyār** Takkōlattu Tiruvūṟal-Māha(Mahā)dēvarkku nundā-vi[ḷa]kku [oṇṟukku*] vaiytta poṉ muppadiṉ kaḻañju [|*].....[1] ṉai aṭṭuvōm-āṇōm [|*] I[v*]v-eṉṉai muṭṭil tanmmā(nmā)dāṉattil niśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇam daṇḍapaṭṭu[m*] niśadam uḻakku eṉṉai aṭṭu[vō].....[2] ṉaiykku[3] taṇḍa-vandā[r*]kku ni[śa*]dam iraṇḍu śōṟu kuḍuppōm āṇōm ū[rō*]m [|*] ūr kūḍi.....[4] ṉ kūḍattāṉ Ambakuṭṭi magaṉ Tambaṭṭaṉṉēṉ [|*]ivai eṉ[ṉ=e*]luttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madura**, this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of Urāḍagam, (*a village*) in Puriśai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam.

The gold which **Viramādēviyār, the daughter of the Chōḷa king Pirāntakadēva,** (*and*) **the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar,** endowed for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva of Takkōlam is thirty *kaḻañju*. Receiving this gold, (*we*) the *Ūr* shall supply (*one*) *uḻakku* of oil daily.

If the supply of oil fails, we shall supply the *uḻakku* of oil daily, after paying the *Dhanmā-saṇam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (*for*) every day (*of default*). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.

I, Tambaṭṭaṉ, son of Ambakuṭṭi,....., this is my writing (signature).

No. 30.—NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.

By Krishna Deva, M.A., Delhi.

This terracotta **seal** of Vishṇugupta was excavated from Monastery Site No. 1 at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 together with the seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta[5]. It is fragmentary and only a quarter of the original seal consisting of the lower portion of the right half remains, the rest being broken and irretrievably lost. The extant fragment is of the shape of a triangle with the sides measuring $3'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ and contains portions of the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā, this seal was also oval in shape, as is indicated by the curvature of its edge, and contained representation of Garuḍa, flanked by the sun and the crescent, in the missing upper portion. On the analogy of the above mentioned seals, it may also be presumed that the full legend on this ran into eight lines, the upper four of which, though lost, may be restored from the other known seals with reasonable certainty.

The seal being the direct impression from a negative matrix, the legend stands out in relief. The execution of the writing is fairly neat and elegant. The **characters** of the inscription

[1] The missing syllables were probably '*i-ppoṉ koṇḍu chandr-ādity-avarai niśadam uḻakku eṉ*'.

[2] The missing syllables were probably '*m-āṇōm* [|*] *Iv-eṉ*'.

[3] The syllables *kku* appear to be superfluous.

[4] The missing syllables in this portion cannot be correctly restored.

[5] These seals are edited in Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material* (*A. S. I.*, Memoir No. 66), pp. 64 ff., pl. VIII.

belong to the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and closely resemble those of the Bhitarī[1] and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II. *M* and *k* are of the developed Eastern type. *S* has both the looped and unlooped varieties, the former as in *tasya* (l.3) and the latter as in *Narasiṁha°* (l. 2). The height of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{16}$" to $\frac{3}{32}$". The **language** is Sanskrit and the legend is in prose.

In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: (1) *Dh* has been invariably doubled in conjuction with a following *y* as in *pādānuddhyātō* (ll. 2 and 3). (2) *T* is everywhere doubled in conjunction with a following *r* as in *puttras* (ll. 2 and 3). (3) The *Upadhmānīya* sign has been used in *°nnaḥ-Puruṣa°* (l. 4).

The seal belongs to the *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja* **Vishṇugupta** of the **Imperial Gupta family**. Like the other Gupta seals, it records the genealogy of a succession of Gupta kings ending with Vishṇugupta. Up to the name of *Kumāragupta* occurring in line 3, its legend, though only partially preserved, is identical with that on the Bhitarī and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II, who was so far the last known sovereign in the connected genealogical succession of the Imperial Guptas. The present seal tells us that the issuer of this, *viz.* **Vishṇugupta, was the son and successor of Kumāragupta II,** who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta. The seal, therefore, is of great importance inasmuch as it carries the genealogy of the Gupta sovereigns a generation further than was hitherto known. It is unfortunate that the name of the mother of Vishṇugupta and the wife of Kumāragupta II, which would, if known, have constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge, has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

The seal also shows that the name of the father and predecessor of Narasiṁhagupta should be spelt as **[P]ū[rugupta*]** (l. 1) and not Puragupta as was hitherto done. The reading **Pūrugupta** is unmistakable on the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Narasiṁhagupta[2] and is also fairly clear on the originals of those of Kumāragupta II. The medial *ū* sign in the first letter of the name *Pūragupta* is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter, besides the downward elongation of its right limb, the latter sign by itself denoting the short medial as in *puttras* (ll. 2 and 3). In the second letter of the name, *viz. ru*, the medial *u* is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of *r*. Palæographical considerations apart, the name *Pūrugupta* yields more plausible sense than *Puragupta* and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. As has been pointed out by Mr. Jagannath[3], the first part of the Gupta nomenclature constituted the real or substantive name and yielded satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, *viz. gupta*, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. *Pura*, by itself, is neither a complete nor a dignified name while *Pūru* is both. *Pūru* with the more common variant *Puru* may, like *Vainya* in Vainyagupta's name, either signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, or may alternately mean *abundant* or *great*.

The Gupta chronology as known from the joint testimony of the seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta is drawn below in a table form. The other Gupta records do not take us very far in this respect, as they end the genealogical list with Skandagupta who is called therein as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I. Fortunately for us, the *Mañjuśrīmū-*

[1] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LVIII, pt. I, p. 89; *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

[2] Hirananda Sastri, *loc. cit.* pl. VIII, *b*, l.6.

[3] *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Dec. 1940, p. 101. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also independently arrived at the reading *Pūrvya* in

kalpa[1] (henceforth called MMK.), which is a literary work of the 8th-9th centuries A. D., has preserved a skeleton of the Gupta history and chronology which may prove very valuable for a study of the subject. The succession according to this work is also shown below in juxtaposition to the list of the seals. In each case the rulers previous to Kumāragupta I have been omitted, since there is practically complete unanimity on the earlier Gupta chronology.

Succession according to Seals.	*Succession according to MMK.*
Kumāragupta (I)	Mahēndra
Pūrugupta	*S*-initialled
Narasiṁhagupta	Bāla
Kumāragupta (II)	Kumāra (II)
Viṣṇugupta	U

That Mahēndra is same as Kumāragrupta I will be admitted on all hands. The identity of Bāla (Bālāditya) and Narasiṁhagupta also is beyond doubt. Kumāra(gupta II) is common to both the seals and the MMK. The name U (*Ukārākhya*) of the MMK., however, appears to be puzzling. But an examination of Viṣṇugupta's coins shows on the obverse between the king's feet the letter *U*[2], which no doubt is identical with U of the MMK. and represented probably the abbreviation of some *virudu* or nickname of Viṣṇugupta who is known from coins to have had another *virudu*, *viz.* Chandrāditya. As regards the *S*-initialled (*Sakārādya*) king of the MMK., it will be readily recognised that he is the well-known king Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I. Against this name the succession list of the seals shows Pūrugupta. As all other names on one list correspond with those on the other, the presumption is that Skandagupta should be equated with Pūrugupta. It is, however, exactly at this point that the controversy starts. Pūrugupta, misspelt as Puragupta, has been so far supposed to be a brother and collateral of Skandagupta. Some scholars think that there was partition of the Gupta empire either during or after Skandagupta's reign, Skandagupta and his descendants ruling over some provinces and the collateral branch of Pūrugupta over the remaining portion of the kingdom. Others hold that Pūrugupta's branch succeeded Skandagupta or his descendants on the undivided imperial throne. All these theories rest on the supposition that Pūrugupta and Skandagupta were two different entities. This misconception arose from the fact that while the scholars took care to note Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being each called son of Kumāragupta I, they ignored that the Gupta records referred to each as *tatpādānudhyāta* in relation to Kumāragupta I. That the phrase *tatpādānudhyāta* had the technical sense of *immediate successor* in the imperial Gupta documents is clear from its omission in the case of Chandragupta II, who is invariably called *tatparigṛihīta* or *tatpādaparigṛihīta*[3] in relation to his father, Samudragupta. The substitution of the usual *tatpādānudhyāta* by the improvised phrase *tatparigṛihīta* or *tatpādaparigṛihīta* is significant and was necessitated by the fact that Chandragupta II did not directly succeed his father but was preceded in the Imperial succession by his brother Rāmagupta. Skandagupta and Pūrugupta, therefore, each of whom is called the son and *immediate* successor of Kumāragupta I, must be taken as one and the same

[1] Jayaswal's edition, vv. 645 ff.; *Imperial History of India*, p. 33.

[2] See Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XXIII, 9. Jayaswal identified U of the MMK. with Prakāśāditya, whose coins also show the letter *U* (*Imperial History of India*, p. 39). If this identification be accepted, Prakāśāditya will become another *birudu* of Viṣṇugupta.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 27 (l. 9), p. 50 (l. 10), p. 53 (l. 4); *Above*, Vol. XV, p. 41 (l. 4); *A. S. I.*, Memoir No. 66, p. 64 (l. 3), p. 65 (l. 3), p. 66 (l. 3).

person. That Skandagupta was known by more names than one is attested by the epithet *śrī-dōḍākhya*, given him by the MMK.[1], which further informs us that he was also called Dēvarāja, this being the favourite name also of his grandfather, Chandragupta II[2]. It is likely that Skandagupta came to be known as Pūrugupta meaning the Great Gupta in recognition of the unique service that he rendered to his family by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas, who had threatened the stability of the Gupta empire. Moreover, the absence of Pūrugupta's coins,[3] when the issues of all his royal predecessors and of all his successors including Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta have been recovered, is not a little puzzling and can only be explained on the hypothesis of Pūrugupta's identity with one of the Gupta kings whose coins are known. Finally, there is no incontrovertible evidence in favour of a division of the empire either during or immediately after Skandagupta's reign to justify the assumption of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being collaterals. The MMK[4]., on the other hand, explicitly states that the division and disintegration set in after the reign of the king U, i.e. Vishṇugupta, who is the third in descent from Skandagupta or Pūrugupta. Thus, the joint testimony of the seals and the MMK., supported by the foregoing considerations, leaves no doubt as to the **identity of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta.**

The accuracy of the succession list of the seals, independently confirmed by the MMK., is further borne out by numismatic evidence. The Kāligḥāt hoard[5] contained besides Chandragupta II's coins those of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta[6]. This not only lends support to the succession of the last three sovereigns as given in the seals and the MMK., but also attests the statement of the MMK. that the period following Vishṇugupta's time was troublous, as is indicated by the hoard having been buried presumably at the fag end of his reign. Yet another corroborative evidence is provided by the comparative weights[7] of the coins. It is admitted by numismatists that the Gupta Coins tended to increase in weight with lapse of time and generally the heavier a Gupta Coin, the later is its date. Confining ourselves to the issues of the last three rulers, we find that the average weight of Narasiṁhagupta's Class I is 146·5 grains and of his Class II 146. Kumāragupta II's Class I weighs 143, while the two varieties of Class II give an average of 149·2 and 147·2. The coins of Vishṇugupta average 148·3. It is further significant that the issues of no other Gupta king average anywhere between 146 and 148 grains. This progressive increase in weight standard affords an additional confirmation of the genealogical succession from Narasiṁhagupta through Kumāragupta II to Vishṇugupta, as contained in the seal under discussion.

[1] Jayaswal's edition, v. 647.

[2] That Skandagupta also shared with Chandragupta II the *birada* of Vikramāditya, with the variant Kramāditya, is known from coins. It is interesting to note that Skandagupta is referred to as Vikramāditya, king of Ayōdhyā, in Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, which also informs us that Bālāditya was Vikramāditya's crown-prince and successor (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p.l). This confirms the testimony of the MMK. that Skandagupta was succeeded by Bāla.

[3] The coins formerly attributed to him really belong to Budhagupta, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 691.

[4] Jayaswal's edition, v. 675.

[5] Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. cxxvi.

[6] Dr. Altekar has identified Vishṇugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A. D., as is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the year 117 (Harsha era)=723 A. D. (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57 ff.). The learned professor had obviously no knowledge of the seal of an earlier Vishṇugupta, which is under discussion. I think, he will now agree that the coins really belong to the Vishṇugupta of the present seal.

[7] Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxxiv.

NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.



(From a photograph).

TEXT.[1]

1. . . . hārājādh[i]r[ā]ja-śr[ī*]-[P*]ā
2. . . . h[ā*]r[ā*]j[ā*]dhirāja-śrī-**Narasiṁha[guptas]**-tasya puttras-tat-pādānuddh[yā]t[ō].
3. . . . rājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptas**-tasya puttras-tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
4. . . . nnaḥ-Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Vishṇug[u][ptaḥ||*]**.

No. 31.—A NOTE ON THE BALASORE PLATE OF BHANU[DATTA].

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Calcutta.

In a previous issue of this journal,[2] the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar published four copper-plate inscriptions belonging to three different chiefs who ruled over the region now covered by the Balasore District of Orissa. One of these[3] speaks of a 'king' (*Mahārāja*) called Bhānudatta and is dated in the year 5 on the 17th day of Phālguna. One more copper-plate grant, however, belonging apparently to the same personage, had been discovered, some time earlier, but somehow it escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This plate was turned up in course of ploughing a field near the modern town of **Balasore**[4] in Orissa. The owner of the holding, the late Mr. Ziauddin, lately Lecturer at the Viśva-Bhāratī of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, made over the plate to Mr. Haridas Mitra who published a paper on the same in 1935[5].

This is, in common with the Sōrō plates, a single sheet of copper bearing inscription on both sides. It measures 7·2″ by 3·7″. The record is complete in eighteen lines. A seal, which appears to have been soldered on to the central left margin of the plate, is reported to have been destroyed.

The inscription is one of *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* **Bhānu**. It records a gift which was issued from the royal encampment (*vāsaka*) at **Sarōphā**,[6] of the village of **Nandīraṭa**[7] to four Brāhmaṇas, named **Priyamitrasvāmin, Vāṭamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin**, belonging to the Vatsa *gōtra* and to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* (of the Yajurvēda). Before its formal sanction, the gift was announced before a number of officials entrusted with administration of the district (*vishaya*) called **Sarōphāhāra**. The grant was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Aruṇadatta** and 'heated' (*tāpitaṁ*) by the *Pīḍāpīlaka* **Pratishṭhitachandra**. The date given (in figures only) is **Year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrsha**.

There can be no doubt that the present record belongs to *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta already known to us from the Sōrō inscription. The general character of the plates, the

[1] From the original as well as from excellent photographs which I owe to the kindness of the Director General of Archæology in India.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197 ff. and plates.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[4] The exact findspot has not been mentioned. One may however presume that it cannot have been very far from the place where the Sōrō plates were found.

[5] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff. and plate.

[6] Mitra reads *Saṇḍhā*.

[7] The name of the village appears to be somewhat damaged. I cannot however see *Bandīraṭa* as read by Mr. Mitra (*I. H. Q.*, Vol XI, p. 621).

script, the names of donees and the officers responsible for execution of the documents leave no room for doubt as to the identity of both Bhānu and Bhānudatta as being one and the same person. The present record presumably belongs to an earlier part of Bhānu[datta]'s career : in fact, the dates given suggest a little over three months' priority over the Sōrō record.

The chiefs of the Sōrō plates must have ruled over a severely circumscribed area, and that too at the pleasure of some higher power. Bhānudatta and perhaps Sōmadatta (of the Sōṇō plates), between whom some kinship has been claimed,[1] may well have worked as deputies to an overlord whose personality remains obscure: he is apparently vaguely referred to as *śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in the inscriptions.[2]

The date given is the year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśirsha. The year is apparently regnal. Palæographically, our record is to be assigned to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

Of the localities mentioned, Sarōphā has already been identified by Mr. N. G. Majumdar with Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa. It was apparently the headquarters of the district (*vi-haya*) called Sarōphāhāra in the present inscription. I am unable to locate the village Nandiraṇa.

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 200.

[2] I would suggest that he may have been the *Paramadēvatāsiddhairaṇa, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śambhuyaśas (emended reading) mentioned as the overlord of a chief called *Mahārāja*-Śivarāja in the Paṭiākellī (Cuttack District, Orissa) plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff. and plate) and also in 'Plate A' of the Sōṇō grants (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-202 and plate). From the joint evidence of the Paṭiākellī and the Sōrō plates it is reasonable to assume that Śambhuyaśas ruled as an independent ruler over the wide tract of country anciently known as Tōsalī and now roughly covering the districts of Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. *Mahārāja* Sōmadatta and *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta of the Sōṇō plates were evidently more or less equal in status to *Mahārāja* Śivarāja of the Paṭiākellī grant. It seems very significant that both Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta hold such feudatory titles as *Mahāpratīhāra, Mahāsāmanta, Mahābalādhikṛta*, etc.

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